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## Contents


EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS ..... 841

EDITORIAL ARTICLES:

- Mr. Lane and the Cabinet Crisis ..... 844
- The Railway Muddle ..... 845
- England and Egypt ..... 846
- Only an Honorable Peace ..... 846
- Tap-Root or Melting-Pot ..... 847

LABOR AND THE FARMERS. By Lincoln Colcord ..... 848

QUOTING ISAIAH IN WINNIPEG. By A. Vernon Thomas ..... 850

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:

- I. A Land of Shadows. By William MacDonald ..... 851
- II. The Mines for the Nation in Britain. By Felix Morley ..... 853

THE APPLES. By Ridgely Torrence ..... 854

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter ..... 854

LITERATURE:

- Justice and the Poor. By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. ..... 855
- The Predecessors of Turner ..... 856
- The Ways of the Short Story ..... 857

BOOKS IN BRIEF ..... 858

DRAMA: A Chronicle Play. By Ludwig Lewisohn ..... 858

ART: The Academy and Commonplace. By N. N. ..... 860

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION ..... 861

BOOKS OF THE WEEK ..... 865



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THE first thing upon which Irish Nationalists, Unionists, and Sinn Feiners have ever agreed is an unqualified rejection of the plan of the British Government for Irish Home Rule, announced by Mr. Lloyd George a week ago Monday. The Unionist *Irish Times* says of the measure: "Its principles are hateful to all classes alike. If the Government tries to impose such a measure its task of reconquest will begin." The *Independent*, which was raided recently for its outspoken condemnation of the attempted murder of Lord French, characterizes the plan as "wrong, unfair, and unacceptable." The more nationalistic *Telegraph* asserts that "the Premier's monstrous measure ought not to be allowed by Parliament to proceed." After such a reception by every faction in Ireland itself, the new-born plan may well be looked upon as a foundling in spite of the more favorable comment of the British press, including the Northcliffe organs. What Nationalist opinion objects to in the plan is its provision for British control of taxes, revenues, and trade, of the judiciary, and, for the time being, of the police. What Unionists oppose is the suggestion that any question may properly be submitted to a general Irish council. The proposal of separate councils for the North and the South to deal with their respective problems failed to placate either side. In short, Mr. Lloyd George's plan has been received as everyone said it would be received, and as it deserved to be received; and the Irish question is just where it was before the plan was announced.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU'S statement in the Chamber of Deputies, on December 23, regarding the proposed Allied policy towards Russia does not differ in substance from previous declarations of French statesmen on that subject, nor, in general, from the policy which the Allies have all along pursued. There is to be neither peace nor compromise with the Soviet Government; Russia is to be hemmed in as by a barbed-wire fence; and the Poles, Rumanians, and other peoples whom Russia has attacked or may attack are to be aided. Wherever Bolshevism shows itself, there the Allies will join in resisting it. All this, of course, is the old story. If, as may probably be assumed, M. Clemenceau is speaking by the card, it would appear that the recent London conference has put a check upon Mr. Lloyd George's talk about peace with the Soviet Government, and that the views of France, which have been stubbornly opposed all along to any negotiations with Russia, have prevailed. The report that a communication containing Russian peace terms, handed by M. Litvinov to the British representative at a recent conference at Stockholm, was returned unopened points to the same conclusion. If such is the case, one must regretfully admit that the Allied statesmen have learned nothing from the experiences of the past year, and that the war against Russia is to go on. What makes the announcement the more fateful is that it is made just on the eve of the promised resignation of the Clemenceau Ministry, with a general election impending in Great Britain, Denikin and his army on the point of surrender if not of extinction, Poland starving, Czecho-Slovakia apparently becoming more sympathetic with Hungary, the quarrel between Italy and Jugoslavia no nearer solution than ever, and British forces fighting for their lives in Afghanistan. Whence, one may venture to ask, is to come the material for the barbed-wire fence which is to replace the former *cordon sanitaire?* Will it be drawn from France, where Government and people alike have their hands full to avert financial collapse? Will Great Britain, warned by its own financiers that it is far on the road to bankruptcy, nevertheless devote men, money, and supplies to an enterprise which all save the most reactionary know holds out no promise of success? Or will Japan, which is reported to be eager to throw an army into Siberia, be left to deal single-handed with a revolution which Europe and America have been unable even to check?

THE only thing that appears likely to check the rapid retreat of the forces of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia is their total collapse. Already the Siberian Government—formerly of Omsk, now of Irkutsk—has been reduced to political impotence by revolutionary upheavals and the approach of the Bolsheviki; the disintegration of the army must soon follow. On October 29 the capture by the Bolsheviki of Petropavlovsk was definitely announced. On November 15 Omsk, the seat of the Government, 180 miles east of Petropavlovsk was taken by the Bolsheviki. Announcement has just been made of the occupation by the Red Army of Tomsk, and of Taiga, the junction-point for Tomsk on the Trans-


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Siberian Railway. Taiga is 500 miles east of Omsk. Thus in less than two months the Bolsheviki have advanced nearly 700 miles. A Moscow wireless dispatch asserts that "the road to Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk is now open, and Admiral Kolchak's army in this region has ended its existence." To be sure, Irkutsk is some thousand miles beyond Taiga, but at the present rate of progress, if the Kolchak forces have sufficient strength to maintain the retreat, Irkutsk should be reached within three or four months. In considering the success of the Bolshevist forces it is interesting to recall that the furthest advance of the German armies through Belgium and France in 1914 was a little over 200 miles. On the other hand, while Kolchak retires so fast as to confound his pursuers and prevent their keeping in touch with his rear, the anti-Bolshevist forces in Paris are still aggressive. The collapse of the Siberian Government has inspired the Russian Committee to designate General Denikin as "the symbol of Russian unity." It is well, perhaps, that he has not been chosen for a more arduous rôle. His forces have been defeated literally on all sides, while the loss of Kharkov on December 12 and his subsequent reverses have left him with no apparent possibility of escape from annihilation or surrender.

AGAIN Switzerland speaks out for humanity. This time it is a noble appeal to the Supreme Council at Paris for the release of the German and Russian prisoners of war. While the condition of these unfortunates, many of whom have now been five years in confinement away from wives and children, has grown better so far as food is concerned, their clothing is far from what it ought to be and their mental condition grows worse. Of a car-load of civilian prisoners recently returned from Canada, about half were insane as the result of five years behind barbed wire. The United States has done its duty in returning war prisoners, and Great Britain also so far as those in Great Britain itself are concerned. But the French Government still holds some 430,000 of these unfortunates, using them as another lever, in addition to Foch's armies and the Allied fleets, with which to force the Germans to accept the ever-increasing conditions imposed upon them. Worst of all is the plight of the Russian prisoners in Germany, whom that republic is eager to return, but whom it cannot return because of the opposition of the Supreme Council in Paris. Hundreds of thousands of these men cannot be sent back to Russia because, it is feared, they will turn Bolshevists if restored to their homes and families. What could render these men who fought and bled for the Allied cause more susceptible to that contagion than this continued imprisonment by Allied order in a foreign land? If Germany cherishes for decades to come a dangerous feeling of revenge toward France, it will be due as much to the treatment of her war prisoners as to anything else. If Lenin needs another incentive to strike hands with Germany against the Allies, this barbarity to the Russian soldier-prisoners who helped to save France in 1914-1916 would be enough to furnish it.

THE American Friends Service Committee is planning not only the continuance of its beneficent work in Europe throughout the winter, but also the extension of its activities in new regions where needs have appeared. Of the 500 relief workers who have been maintained in France during the past summer, between two and three hundred will remain until spring, concentrating their efforts for the most part in four cantons west of Verdun, in the region of the American Argonne advance, which have been assigned to the Committee for reconstruction. Some 1,200 houses have been built in the destroyed villages, thousands of acres have been ploughed with the aid of tractors, and large numbers of chickens, rabbits, and farm animals have been distributed by public sale at low prices. Indoor work for women and industrial classes for boys and girls are also being maintained. A chain of twenty coöperative stores which have been selling necessary supplies is being reduced, the stores being turned over to the villagers and the shares distributed free among the purchasers. For new work, a commission of investigation and relief has been sent to Lithuania; an orphanage has been established at Lescovatz, a Serbian industrial centre, and plans are under way for teaching American agricultural methods to Serbian children; and representatives of the Committee are superintending the work of 200 Bulgarian prisoners in rebuilding villages in the Toplica valley. In Vienna, where the lack of milk for children is peculiarly distressing, 300 cows have been brought in, the milk being sold to the various child welfare organizations of the city at less than cost. By arrangement with the trade unions, 1,500 children's suits are being manufactured daily from cloth sent from England. Relief work is also to be extended to Austrian mining districts. Thus does a religious body whose faith condemns war labor to heal the wounds which war has made.

ADMIRAL SIMS has again rendered a great service to his country by declining the decoration offered to him while officers for whose gallantry he vouched are asked to accept a reward inferior to that which the Admiral recommended. We are not much interested in decorations of any kind, having still the old-fashioned American belief that such have been the bribes and baubles of kings and princes and that they have little or no place in a democracy. But if decorations are not to be awarded for merit in action but, as Admiral Sims charges, through bureaucratic favoritism, they certainly ought to be abolished as a fruitful source of pique, jealousy, and demoralization. By all means let us have a Congressional inquiry. Admiral Sims is not only one of our ablest but also one of our bravest officers. He has moral courage in a degree unusual in a government official, and in addition a hatred of shams and hypocrisy. He jeopdized and nearly lost his commission years ago by blurting out the truth about the inefficient gunnery of the navy, to the great and lasting benefit of the naval service. The presumption that he is right and that Secretary Daniels is wrong is borne out by the hasty reconvening of the Board of Award and the protests from other officers of rank.

ONE hardly knows what to make of such a preliminary statement of conclusions as President Wilson's second Industrial Conference has just made public. Beginning with the declaration that the Conference "does not deem it useful at this time to enter upon a discussion of the causes of industrial unrest," followed by a long paragraph of hoary platitudes about "a larger satisfaction with life," "the spirit of human fellowship and responsibility," "a complex interweaving of vital interests," and "community of interest between employer and employee," the report goes on to outline, as a "practical approach to the problem," a plan for boards of inquiry and adjustment in industrial disputes. In other words, without inquiring into the primary causes of indus-

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trial quarrels the Conference nevertheless goes hopefully at the task of settling them; without studying the origin and history of the disease it confidently prepares a remedy. So far as the proposals of the Conference go, the existing industrial organization, with all its inducements to rupture, to violence, to suspension of necessary production, and to interference with the peace and welfare of the community, is to be left as it is. The preliminary statement expressly declares that the plan suggested "does not propose to do away with the ultimate right to strike, to discharge, or to maintain the closed or the open shop." The elaborate plan under which the embattled hosts of labor and capital are to be restrained from fighting after the usual fashion comprises a National Industrial Tribunal at Washington, made up of nine members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and twelve Regional Boards of Inquiry and Adjustment, the chairmen of which are to be appointed by the President, while the other members are to be chosen from lists of employers and employees prepared by the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce. Either party to a controversy may appeal to the appropriate tribunal, and the decision is to have the force of a trade agreement which each party is bound to observe. We see no reason why such a scheme of arbitration, in which the public as well as the employers and employees are represented, might not aid materially in the adjustment of any industrial controversy in which no issue of particular importance was involved.

JUDGE ANDERSON'S action in the coal strike, stretching still further the use of the much-abused power of injunction, has already resulted in several orders in other courts of which it is not too much to say that if such rulings are allowed to stand, the country is in danger of having a new and vicious legal doctrine fastened upon it. For instance, when Mr. Scott Nearing was invited recently to speak on amnesty for political prisoners before the Central Labor Union in Lafayette, Indiana, the Mayor of the city prevented the meeting by getting an injunction from Judge Henry H. Vinton of the Superior Court. The order not only "enjoined and restrained" Mr. Nearing "from addressing or speaking in the Labor Temple" at Lafayette "at 7:30 o'clock this date, or at any other time pending the hearing of this petition," but also decreed "that all persons whomsoever are hereby enjoined or restrained from holding a meeting at any time pending the hearing of this petition anywhere in Tippecanoe County, Indiana, to be addressed by said defendant, Scott Nearing, or any other person, upon said subject." This is nothing less than a revolution in the doctrine of the injunction as hitherto understood. If Mr. Nearing had spoken at Lafayette and in doing so had violated any law, he could and should have been arrested and tried. The conception of the criminal law is that it shall be enforced by the punishment of individuals who violate its provisions. The injunction, on the other hand, as pointed out in *The Nation* of December 20, has nothing to do with crime. It originated as an equity measure to protect property from impending injury for which there could be no subsequent redress in civil law. To deprive a guiltless man of his rights under the law in order to forestall a possible crime, is little better than stringing a guilty man to a lamp post in order to forestall a possible failure to punish him. It is uncomfortably close to introducing lynch law into the courts themselves.

OF a similar character is the injunction recently issued by Judge Webster at Spokane, Washington, enjoining "individuals from continuing as members of the I. W. W. and from advocating, advising, teaching, or promulgating the theories, doctrines, practices, and alleged principles of the I. W. W., and from circulating or distributing any of the written or printed pamphlets, papers, handbills, documents, or other propaganda or literature of the I. W. W., until further order of the court." The prosecuting attorney, in asking for the injunction, is said to have stated that the activities of the I. W. W. had resulted in murder at Centralia, and were threatening a loss of life and property in Spokane for which the organization could not reimburse the public. The mention of property injury was doubtless intended to justify relief by injunction, but the absurdity of the contention is clear when one reflects that the injury was necessarily indefinite in place, unspecified in kind, and problematical in occurrence, and that the business of a prosecuting officer is to try criminals and not to protect either private or public property by an action in equity. It is the duty of all who believe in government by law to fight to the highest courts this new doctrine which would empower the courts to interfere with any act of anybody at any time on the ground that the individual in question might somehow, sometime, somewhere, commit a crime.

UNDER the Lloyd-LaFollette act of 1912, employees in the Federal civil service have the right to form unions and to affiliate with national labor organizations. The Senate has lately passed a bill requiring all members of trade unions in the Federal service to give up their union cards. Against this attempt to interfere with their right to organize and to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor the National Federation of Federal Employees, representing 153 local unions in 43 States, has entered a vigorous protest, and last week laid its case before Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee at the meeting of that body at Washington. Beyond this, the Federation asks for increases in salaries and for certain changes in the civil service system. The present wage scale, according to the Federation, is sixty-five years old, and the war bonus of $240 is less than the difference between the base pay and the present cost of living. To meet this situation, the Federation is urging the immediate passage by the Senate of the Nolan Minimum Wage bill, in order to relieve at least 66,000 Federal employees from actual want; and flat increases, pending a general reclassification of salaries, ranging from $240 for grades between $3,500 and $4,500, to $480 for employees receiving base pay up to and including $2,500 a year. A uniform leave law; the abolition of overtime, or pay for overtime at one and one-half or double rate, according to circumstances; a Saturday half-holiday throughout the year; and legislation giving to women equal opportunity and equal pay with men throughout the civil service, are among the further changes demanded. As to the civil service system in general, the Federation calls for an enlarged Civil Service Commission, to include representatives of Department heads, of the employees, and of the public, with equal representation of men and women in each group; together with such extension of the scope of the Commission as will make it the central agency for dealing with all questions of appointment, promotion, and dismissal, and an "employment management department" for the government.

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# Mr. Lane and the Cabinet Crisis

MR. FRANKLIN LANE'S coming resignation will take from the Cabinet the one remaining member of intellectual distinction. A strong personality, with considerable leanings toward liberalism, an able executive, ready with constructive suggestions, he, too, has long been practically without influence at the White House. The vigorous men of the original Cabinet—Garrison, McAdoo, and Lane—will thus have disappeared; and to them must be added Mr. Bryan, who for all his shortcomings was at least a personality, had his own ideas, and stood for something in the public eye. As time has passed, Mr. Wilson's inability to surround himself with strong men, or to work with them if by chance they were included in his immediate official *entourage*, has become more and more clear. As he dictated the renomination of the Vice-President at St. Louis, in 1916, instead of urging the selection of a new man of virile power, so his successive appointments to fill the Cabinet vacancies that have occurred have further weakened that body; and he has retained the least fit of them all, Mr. Burleson, in open defiance of public sentiment.

The present situation is not due merely to Mr. Wilson's physical breakdown. That has only intensified a state of things already known to well-informed observers and revealed it to those less informed. What we have been living under for nearly seven years is the most autocratic government of modern times, with one self-willed man seeking to do that which even in peaceful days no one may do with safety, namely, direct the workings of all branches of the government. Such a course has been even less possible in the extraordinary times since 1914. Yet this tendency towards absolutism has steadily increased; the President's appetite for power has grown with feeding. We have seen the disappearance of the time-honored function of the Cabinet, its duty to advise the President. In the grave crisis which followed the sinking of the Lusitania the President did not convene the Cabinet; nor did he consult at length with any member before composing his first note and reading it to the Cabinet for that "me-too" approval which that body always gave. True, Mr. Lane called Mr. Wilson on the telephone about the crisis and is said to have submitted a memorandum, and there were some consultations with the lesser State Department officials. When the Cabinet met, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Lane both exercised their right to proffer advice, thereby probably initiating their retirement from the Cabinet. In Mr. Garrison's case retirement came soon over a question of veracity with the President. In Mr. Lane's case, his readiness to think for himself has left him for a long time past without influence.

What makes the situation worse is that Mr. Lansing, holding the all-important office of Secretary of State, is in a precisely similar situation. Ignored at Paris, he has not been permitted to see the President since the revelation by Mr. Bullitt of his real feeling as to the peace treaty, and this when the President has been a sick man and foreign affairs have been in a more critical state than at any time since the United States entered the war. Mr. Lansing's resignation should be inevitable. Further, the "unofficial" ambassador and Cabinet member, Colonel House, has likewise been discarded by Mr. Wilson despite his valuable services to the President and the country. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Cabinet has failed in its effort to carry on the government well. There were successive months in 1917 and 1918 when it did not meet at all. The members never having been trained to coöperate and having in reality been given little opportunity to pull together, not having been chosen to work out policies in helpful team-play, their effort to handle the coal strike met with such disaster as would inevitably, in any responsible government, have caused the fall of the Ministry. Witness the resignation in protest of Mr. Garfield, the discrediting of Secretary Wilson, and the delegation to the Attorney General of power to "settle" the strike.

The first effort of the Cabinet to function in seven years did more, however, than reveal its inefficiency. It showed also that there are two distinct cliques within the Cabinet—the Southern reactionary wing of the Burleson, Glass, and Daniels type, and those who, like Mr. Lansing, have broader and more progressive views and who still remember that Mr. Wilson once preached and promised a new industrial and social freedom. These divergent opinions as to what the policy of the Administration should be would alone cripple Cabinet leadership, even if the Cabinet had a constructive policy. But when one man has been the *fons et origo* of every governmental action, others cannot step in, even if they are fitted to do so, and carry on the public business during the temporary disability of the autocrat. All of the business of government has suffered from this one-man management. It is the common complaint that necessary decisions from the several Departments are almost impossible to obtain; whether one applies to the Alien Property Custodian, or to the Shipping Board, or to the Department of State, weeks or even months may pass before plans are made or policies developed. Abroad, complaints from the Allies of our inability to decide pressing issues multiply; apparently we are governed by fits and starts. The White House gives us no reconstruction plans; it has waited until the eleventh hour to decide about the railways—although here the blame for the delay must be shared with Congress—and it has come to no decision as to the merchant fleet.

Such is the situation. What is the remedy? Much depends upon the completeness of the President's recovery. Should that be thoroughgoing, an early reorganization of the Cabinet is obviously essential. If Mr. Lansing no longer has the President's confidence, some one who has should take over the Department of State. It is not as if the Wilson Administration were ending next March. It has still fourteen vitally important months in which to conduct Federal affairs—a period all the more important because of the obvious collapse of world government at Paris. During those months the United States should have the ablest Cabinet that the Democratic party can provide; there should be no more replacing such as that of the unlamented Mr. Redfield with an entirely inconspicuous Congressman like Mr. Alexander. If the President does not recover, or if he both does and does not act, it is the duty of the Democratic Congressional and party leaders to insist upon such changes as will give to the country the executive administration to which it is entitled. We hear encouraging reports of a growing spirit of revolt among Democratic Senators at the present lack of leadership. It is time for Senators and Congressmen to assert themselves, for the present condition threatens far more evil than the public suspects.

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# The Railway Muddle

PRESIDENT WILSON'S proclamation fixing March 1 as the date for the return of the railways to private ownership changes the existing situation but little. It simply gives Congress an additional two months in which to accomplish the impossible by reconciling the irreconcilable differences between the Cummins and Esch bills. Thirteen months ago, on the eve of his departure for Europe, the President frankly declared that he had no idea how to solve the railway problem. In steadfast devotion to this policy he has never wavered, and the Congress has followed his lead with single-heartedness and enthusiasm. The two Houses have accordingly produced mutually contradictory and destructive bills, neither of which gives the least promise of furnishing the efficient, economical, and flexible transportation system so imperatively needed; and the President has now given them two months more to hammer these two measures into one. The way out is plain enough, but the Congress refuses to walk in it. In the very report putting forward the present impossible Cummins bill, the majority of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce declare: "Government ownership would solve the problem, but it is the judgment of the committee that government operation is attended with so many disadvantages—notably in the increased cost of operation—that this plan must be discarded."

The Cummins bill requires compulsory consolidation of all the roads into from twenty to twenty-five systems under a Federal transportation board; the Esch bill simply permits consolidation of roads under the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Cummins bill, under Section 6 (its fundamental section), divides the country into rate-making regions and provides for rates that will insure a return of 5½ per cent. on the aggregate property values of all the railways in each group, stipulating also that any return above 6 per cent. on any road shall be distributed in certain specified fashion, primarily for the benefit of transportation as a whole and not of the individual road; the Esch bill leaves rate making in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as at present. The Cummins bill makes strikes unlawful; the Esch bill simply provides elaborate machinery for conciliation and arbitration, but gives the board no effective authority. Both bills continue the government guarantee of earnings for six months, though in differing form; and both provide for the refunding of the advances made by the government to the roads during the period of Federal operation; the Cummins bill allows ten years for this process, the Esch bill fifteen. Both bills contemplate an increase of rates.

It is useless to discuss the details of these bills without clearly understanding the underlying conditions of the problem. Once those conditions are understood, it becomes clear that no combination of two irreconcilable measures, both fundamentally wrong, can solve that problem. Three things are essential to a good transportation system, namely, the provision of an adequate continuous supply of capital at the lowest possible cost; the hearty and intelligent coöperation of all workers in the industry, from presidents to section hands; and the operation of the roads as a real unified system designed to produce transportation rather than financial profits. In a notable summary of the status of railway legislation up to December 10, Mr. Robert S. Lovett, chairman of the Union Pacific system, declares that "the controlling necessity for additional railroad legislation is to reëstablish railroad credit." This is entirely correct from the standpoint of private ownership; from that of public interest the question is important primarily as it affects the provision of capital. Judge Lovett criticizes the Esch bill sharply, declaring especially that its labor provisions are "not likely to attract investors to railroad securities." The Cummins bill, on the other hand, he assails fiercely because it declares that "railroad owners shall not be entitled to the earnings they may be able to save out of rates which the Government itself prescribes." As chairman of one of the "strong" lines, which lines, he asserts, carry some 80 per cent. of the country's traffic, Judge Lovett objects to having his earnings used to bolster up the weak roads. On the other hand, Mr. Warfield's National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities declares that Section 6 of the Cummins bill, containing the provisions criticized by Mr. Lovett, outlines the "only one method" by which existing conditions can be met. The arguments of both parties are in agreement that private ownership plus public regulation has been a failure in maintaining railway credit, and neither party can suggest a method for reëstablishing that credit short of practical government guarantee on securities. Neither plan offers the least promise of cheap capital.

The proposed measures are not less defective on the side of human coöperation. The passage of the Cummins bill would apparently drive even Mr. Gompers to revolt, and the machinists have already voted to strike if it is enacted; while no one dare trust any longer to voluntary arrangements like those of the Esch bill. In plain fact, labor will not work whole-heartedly because it thinks that it is simply producing profits for owners; while the directing heads of the industry are still under constant pressure to get financial rather than industrial results out of the properties under their control. Neither bill offers any reasonable hope of marked improvement in either particular. Neither bill would provide a real transportation system. Mr. Esch does not even undertake it, while Senator Cummins, with his twenty-odd regional systems, still attempts to maintain competition among the roads in the face of a thirty-year failure and the opinion of all competent economists. Private interest wars sharply with the public need for organization. Neither bill reconciles the disharmony.

The upshot of the whole matter is clear. Even from the standpoint of the private investor, both measures are bound to fail. Under no scheme of private ownership yet proposed can the Government leave the roads free to get the necessary capital except at the cost of guarantees and rate allowances unduly burdensome to the public; it cannot protect the public without hamstringing the roads; it cannot insure industrial rather than financial management; and it cannot keep the peace between employers and employees. We are therefore driven willy-nilly to government ownership, combined with a system of operation like the Plumb plan, properly guarded, that gives promise of cheap capital and a diminishing capital account, hearty coöperation of the entire railway personnel, and the development of an actual transportation system designed to produce transportation and nothing but transportation. Despite the President's proclamation, the quarrels of private interests may yet drive the Congress to extend the period of Federal control. Such extension would and should be only the prelude to a system of public ownership, and to operation on a basis of public service.

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# England and Egypt

THE problem of Egypt is as old as the British occupation of Egypt, and in its essentials is unchanged. It has developed through a long period of promises made and unfulfilled, of human aspirations evoked only to be denied. Just after the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by the British, in July, 1882, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the Admiral in command of the British fleet, announced to Khedive Tewfik: "I . . . think it opportune to confirm without delay once more to your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor of injuring in any way the religion or liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect your Highness and the Egyptian people against rebels." Equally explicit and even more authoritative were the statements, undoubtedly sincere, of Mr. Gladstone. In response to an interpellation in the House of Commons in August, 1882, Mr. Gladstone said: "I can go so far as to answer the honorable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world, that is a thing which we are not going to do." Later, in opposing annexation "or anything that resembles or approaches it," the Prime Minister recalled "the specific and solemn pledges given to the world in the most solemn manner and under the most critical circumstances, pledges which have earned for us the confidence of Europe at large during the course of difficult and delicate operations, and which, if one pledge can be more sacred and binding than another, special sacredness in this case binds us to observe."

In the Anglo-French agreement of April, 1904, it was stated that "the Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that it has no intention of altering the political status of Egypt." This declaration was reiterated and applied directly to the question of a protectorate by Lord Cromer, for many years British Diplomatic Agent and virtual Viceroy in Egypt. "There are insuperable obstacles," he said in his report of March 3, 1907, "to the assumption of a British protectorate over Egypt. It would involve a change in the political status of the country. Now in Article I of the Anglo-French agreement of the 8th April, 1904, the British Government have explicitly declared that they have 'no intention of altering the political status of Egypt.'"

Such, in brief, is the record of British promises. The record of fidelity to those promises can be even more briefly set forth. For more than thirty-five years British troops have been in constant occupation of Egypt. For more than thirty-five years the Egyptian Government has been "advised" by a long succession of commissioners and consuls-general and diplomatic agents of Great Britain. For more than thirty-five years Egyptian officials have held office, public works have been undertaken, justice has been administered, education has been carried on, by grace of the British Foreign Office and of the British army of occupation in Egypt. The formal declaration in December, 1914, of the British protectorate over Egypt merely gave a name to an accomplished fact. But even that declaration was accompanied by a promise: the protectorate was a war measure to endure only for the period of the war. On that understanding Egyptian troops were recruited for the war in Europe, and died in great numbers in the service of England.

The final test of British honor came with the peace negotiations. How Great Britain met that test is told in an illuminating article by Mr. Noble and in the documents printed elsewhere in this issue. The Egyptian delegation to the Peace Conference was hampered at every step in its effort to reach Paris. At Paris its advice was never asked, its appeals went unheeded. The attempts of the delegation to see President Wilson and, in the name of self-determination, to put their plea before him met with no success and with almost no response. Instead, President Wilson took the opportunity afforded by the presence of the Egyptian delegation and by the Nationalist agitation in Egypt to recognize the British protectorate. Finally, in the extra-European section of the Treaty of Versailles the following clause was included: "Germany recognizes the British protectorate in Egypt, declared December 18, 1914 . . ."

If the incorporation in the treaty of peace of the clause just quoted bore the final testimony to British bad faith, the ratification of the treaty by the other Powers will seal the fate of Egypt. Shorn of the need for concession or hypocrisy, the British Government has stated flatly several times during the last few months its intention to maintain the protectorate. Unless British control is permanently to be fastened on Egypt, one of two things must happen. Either British liberal and radical opinion must aid the Egyptian Nationalists in forcing an abandonment of the protectorate, or the present status must be opposed vigorously by another Great Power. By its ratification of the peace treaty, France has forfeited its ancient prerogative of protesting against British policy in Egypt. Only the United States can effectively oppose the final subjection of the Egyptian people.

# Only an Honorable Peace

WHEN the Senate reassembles, on January 5, it will have before it a resolution, introduced by Senator Knox and favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, which ought to be rejected without a single dissenting vote. The resolution, in form an amendment of an earlier resolution declaring the war at an end and opening the way for a separate treaty with Germany, falls into three parts. The first provides that the repeal of the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring war against Germany, shall take effect "upon the ratification of a treaty of peace between Germany and three of the Allied and associated Powers." The second adds to the recognition of peace the qualification that unless Germany "acquiesces in and confirms irrevocably to the United States all undertakings and covenants contained in the Treaty of Versailles conferring upon or assuring to the United States or its nationals any rights, powers, or benefits whatsoever, and concedes to the United States all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, and advantages to which the United States would have been entitled if it were a ratifying party to the said treaty," commercial intercourse with Germany may be prohibited by the President. The third reaffirms the position of the United States, as stated in an act of August 29, 1916, in regard to international arbitration and disarmament.

The second of these three provisions is both mischievous and dishonorable. Were the resolution to become law, the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, would of course at once cease to be of force, for the reason that more than three of the Allied and associated Powers have already ratified the Treaty of Versailles. The amended Knox resolution

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now proposes, however, that the United States, without becoming in any way a party to the treaty, shall nevertheless extort from Germany all the privileges and rights to which it would have been entitled had it joined in the ratification, and shall hold over the head of Germany the threat of commercial non-intercourse in case such privileges and rights are not fully conceded. In other words, the United States is to have all the benefits of the treaty without any of its responsibilities.

The demand for peace grows daily in volume and insistency. There are some who want the Treaty of Versailles ratified as it stands; there are others who are willing to accept the treaty without the covenant of a League of Nations or with various amendments or reservations; still others, like ourselves, believe that the whole treaty ought to be scrapped and a new and independent treaty negotiated. But we should indeed be chagrined to think that any considerable number of Americans, whether in the Senate or out of it, wanted a settlement which is neither one thing nor the other, and which embodies no higher ethical principle than that of eating your cake and having it too. Were the amended Knox resolution to pass, no honorable American could hold up his head; the worst things that are being said about us in Europe would have been justified. The resolution should be rejected without debate. If Senator Knox wants an independent peace with Germany, he ought to seek it in an independent and straightforward way.

# Tap-Root or Melting-Pot?

RECENT American poetry is to recent British poetry somewhat as New York is to London. Its colors are higher and gayer and more diverse; its outlines are more jagged and more surprising; its surfaces glitter and flash as British poetical surfaces do not always do, though its substances are often not so solid or so downright as the British. Nowhere in America have we a poet of the deep integrity of Thomas Hardy, a poet so rooted in ancient soil, ancient manners, ancient dialect. Nor has England a poet shining from so many facets as Amy Lowell, or a poet resounding with such a clang of cymbals—now gold, now iron—as Vachel Lindsay. Experiment thrives better here than there; at least, our adventurers in verse, when they go out on novel quests for novel beauties, are less likely than the British to be held in by steadying tradition, and they bring back all sorts of gorgeous plunder considerably nearer in hue and texture to the flaming shop windows of Fifth Avenue than to those soberer ones of Bond and Regent Streets. Even John Masefield, most brilliant living poet of his nation, runs true to British form, grounded in Chaucer and Crabbe, fragrant with England's meadows, salt with England's sea. Edgar Lee Masters, as accurately read in Illinois as Masefield in Gloucester, writes of Spoon River not in any manner or measure inherited with his speech, but more nearly in that of the Greek Anthology, by Masters sharpened with a bitter irony.

In all directions such borrowings extend. Even the popular verse men of the newspapers play daily pranks with Horace, fetching him from the cool shades of wit to the riotous companionship of Franklin P. Adams and George M. Cohan. China and Japan have suddenly been discovered again by Miss Lowell and Mr. Lindsay and Witter Bynner and Eunice Tietjens and a dozen others; have been discovered to be rich treasuries of exquisite images, costumes, gestures, moods, emotions. The corners of Europe have been ransacked by American poets as by American collectors, and translators at last are finding South America. Imagism has been imported and has taken kindly to our climate: H. D. is its finest spirit, Miss Lowell its firmest spokesman. Ezra Pound is a translator-general of poetic bibelots, who seems to know all tongues and who ransacks them without stint or limit. With exploration goes excavation. Poets are cross-examining the immigrants, as T. A. Daly the Italian-Americans. The myths and passions of Africa, hidden on this continent under three centuries of neglect and oppression, have emerged with a new accent in Mr. Lindsay, who does indeed see his Negroes too close to their original jungles, but who finds in them poetry where earlier writers found only farce or sentiment. Still more remarkably, the Indian, his voice long drowned by the march of civilization, is heard again in tender and significant notes. Speaking so solely to his own tribe, and taking for granted that each hearer knows the lore of the tribe, the Indian must now be expanded, interpreted; and already Mary Austin and Alice Corbin and Constance Lindsay Skinner have worked charming patterns on an Indian ground. At the moment, so far as American poetry is concerned, Arizona and New Mexico are an authentic wonderland of the nation. Now poets and lovers of poetry and romance, as well as ethnologists, follow the news of the actual excavations in that quarter.

Indian and Negro materials, however, are in our poetry still hardly better than aspects of the exotic. No one who matters actually thinks that a national literature can be founded on such alien bases. Where, then, are our poets to find some such stout tap-root of memory and knowledge as Thomas Hardy follows deep down to the primal rock of England? The answer is that for the present we are not to find it. We possess no such commodity. Our literature for generations, perhaps centuries, will have to be symbolized by the melting-pot, not by the tap-root. Our geographical is also our spiritual destiny. The old idea of America-making in its absurd ignorance demanded that each wave of newcomers be straightway melted down into the national pot and that the resultant mass be as simply Anglo-Saxon as ever. This was bad chemistry. What has happened, and what is now happening more than ever, is that of a dozen —a hundred—nationalities thrown in, each lends a peculiar color and quality. Arturo Giovannitti gives something that Robert Frost could not give; Carl Sandburg something not to be looked for from Edwin Arlington Robinson; James Oppenheim and Alter Brody what would not have come from Indiana or Kansas. Such a fusion of course takes a long time. The great myths and legends and histories of the Britons lay unworked for centuries in Anglo-Saxon England before the Normans saw them and built them into beauty. Eventually, unless the world changes in some way quite new to history, the fusion will be accomplished. But in the meantime experimentation and exploration and excavation must be kept up. We must convert our necessities into virtues; must, lacking the deep soil of memory, which is also prejudice and tradition, cultivate the thinner soil which may also be reason and cheerfulness. Our hope lies in diversity, in variety, in colors yet untried, in forms yet unsuspected. And back of all this search lie the many cultures, converging like immigrant ships toward the Narrows, with aspirations all to become American and yet with those things in their different constitutions which will enrich the ultimate substance.

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# Labor and the Farmers

By LINCOLN COLCORD

*Washington, December 27*

THE four Railroad Brotherhoods did not participate in the conference held by the American Federation of Labor on December 13, which adopted labor's so-called "Bill of Rights." Not a single farmer participated in this conference as a delegate, although the meeting had been widely heralded as a getting together of labor and the farmers, and although Mr. Gompers, speaking to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee four days after the event, said: "I trust there was never a larger representation of wage-earners and farmers in conference than were present last Saturday." The Nonpartisan League did not participate in the conference, and Mr. Gompers made a point of announcing that this organization of farmers had not been invited to send delegates. According to report, this was one of the main reasons for the absence of Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; it is said that Mr. Stone personally took up the question of the Nonpartisan League with Mr. Gompers, and laid down the flat condition that he would not participate unless the League were admitted.

On the day of the conference, labor's "Bill of Rights," prepared and printed beforehand under the direction of Mr. Gompers, was passed almost unanimously after a brief discussion and the adoption of a few minor amendments, as the first business of the meeting. An unintelligent anti-radical resolution drafted by Major George L. Berry, of the Pressmen's Union, to the general effect that "this conference repudiate and condemn the policy of Bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism as being destructive to American ideas and impracticable in application," and advocating citizenship as the first requisite for membership in a trade union, was railroaded through in the same way, after an attempt had been made to refer it to the executive council. A motion made to endorse the American Labor party was laughed out of the conference without being seconded. Not till the American Federation of Labor had fully and finally gone on record did representatives of the real farmer-labor conference held in Chicago on November 21-22 find opportunity to present their report, which had been prepared especially for the consideration of this meeting. This report was in two sections; a report of the committee on joint legislative program, and a report of the committee on national coöperation. The former was referred to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor for future action; the latter was referred to the Federation's committee on co-operation. The great farmer-labor conference of December 13, at which 112 International labor chiefs were to meet with representatives of the big farmer organizations and throw terror into the heart of the "system" and the profiteers, thus completed its task. It was a fitting companion to the President's futile and ill-starred Industrial Conference of October. It was summarily adjourned at 7:30 on the evening of the same day on which it met, for fear that some real proposition might be brought before it. Certain delegates from distant points did not arrive in Washington till Monday morning, two days later.

The project for a farmer-labor conference, to draw up a program to reduce the cost of living, originated six months ago with Warren S. Stone, at the time when the Railroad Brotherhoods were laying down their constructive policies with reference to the economic situation. Other matters intervened, however, and the idea did not come forward until Mr. Stone brought it to Washington in October. He visualized this project as a great conference on coöperation; a conference between the producers on the one hand, and labor as both consumer and distributor on the other hand, to draw up constructive plans which would hit at the heart of the distribution monopoly of the country, eliminate the middleman, and effectively attack the problem of the cost of living. To this plan Mr. Stone brought none of the illusions or delusions of Mr. Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Stone is a straightforward American radical, and can tell a Bolshevik from a bugaboo. He understands the Nonpartisan League movement in the Northwest, and is in full sympathy with it. He recognized that it was only from sources such as this in the farm world, from the "radical" farmer groups, that any coöperation with labor could be expected toward framing an economic program with real teeth in it. Accordingly, he took up the project with George P. Hampton, director of the Farmers' National Council, and others of a like economic disposition, thinking that it might be carried through jointly by the Plumb Plan League and by those farmer groups which had already supported the Plumb plan. He felt certain that Mr. Gompers and the Federation would take no interest in it.

The plan was immediately taken hold of by the management of the Plumb Plan League and carried to Mr. Gompers. (It should be understood that the Gompers forces had by this time demonstrated their control of the Plumb Plan League, a fact which affected nearly everything in the labor world, and which in particular circumscribed the freedom of the Railroad Brotherhoods, if they were to continue to protect the fortunes of the Plumb plan.) Mr. Gompers saw in the idea of a farmer-labor conference two possibilities: on the one hand a great danger, and on the other hand a unique usefulness. At that date he was being sorely pressed. The President's Industrial Conference, driven through by Mr. Gompers against powerful opposition within the ranks of labor, had ended in a complete fiasco; the unwieldly set of rules which he himself had insisted on as a means of excluding the Plumb plan and other "radical" measures from the proceedings, had proved a boomerang, and had caught him and the Federation instead. Following labor's withdrawal from the Industrial Conference, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention at Peoria, had adopted a resolution urging the American Federation to join with the Railroad Brotherhoods in an "offensive and defensive alliance . . . to fight out the life-and-death struggle of the workers now in progress and impending." Things were getting beyond the control of Mr. Gompers. He had to call a conference of some kind; the idea of a farmer-labor conference might save the day.

At any rate, it was something that had to be taken under his wing, rendered innocuous, and turned to all possible account. Through his agents in the Plumb Plan League, he let it be known that he was going to take over the idea and carry it forward under the auspices of the Federation. This was

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the birth of the conference of December 13. Advance publicity at once began to go out hinting at the formation of a farmer-labor alliance. At the same time, Mr. Gompers specified that the Nonpartisan League could not be included, owing to his well-known attitude toward that organization; that the more convervative farmer organizations must be called in; and that the conference must be put on an entirely different plane. Meetings were held in Mr. Gompers's office with representatives of the National Board of Farm Organizations, the National Federation of Milk Producers, the American Society of Equity, and the National Farmers' Union, to which Mr. Hampton, Mr. Stone's associate in the original project, was not invited. When it is remembered that three of these farmers' organizations, and the National Grange as well, were already on record in opposition not only to the Plumb plan and other radical labor measures, but also to the organization of labor *per se*, the transparent mummery of such proceedings will be manifest.

Nevertheless, the call for the "farmer-labor" conference was issued by Mr. Gompers, and the country was given to understand that a formidable alliance had been arranged. Then happened a series of ludicrous occurrences which, had the press been disposed to comment on them, would have knocked the whole sham into a cocked hat. One by one the farmers' organizations with which Mr. Gompers had professed to be in alliance publicly refused to attend the conference. The Farmers' National Congress, meeting at Hagerstown, Maryland; the National Grange, in annual convention at Grand Rapids, Michigan; the National Board of Farm Organizations and the National Federation of Milk Producers, through their chairman, Milo H. Campbell—these, together with numerous local farmers' organizations of the conservative type, rejected the idea of an alliance with labor on any terms, and especially repudiated the suggestion that they would have anything to do with "radical" plans for remodelling the economic system. Mr. Gompers's farmer-labor bubble had burst, but no one paid any attention to that fact.

In the meanwhile Mr. Stone, seeing how matters stood and having no illusions as to the ultimate outcome, went ahead with the original plan. He maintained his association with Mr. Hampton of the Farmers' National Council, continued to seek support from those farmer groups which had proved themselves friendly to constructive ideas; and under these joint auspices a National Farmer-Labor Conference was held in Chicago on November 21-22. This was the conference which drew up a report to be presented to the December 13 conference at Washington. It advocated such things as the enactment of the Kenyon-Anderson bill to control the meat-packing industry; government ownership and democratic operation of railroads and ships; government retention and development, through democratic operation, of all natural resources still in public ownership; legislation to tax incomes, estates, and war profits for the costs of the war; laws to end the present concentration and control of the credit and financial resources of the country in the hands of a few private interests, and to retain this control in the hands of the Government for the service of the people; and the extension of the coöperative movement in every possible direction, along the lines of the Rochdale plan, through the joint action of labor organizations and farmers.

Such a report, obviously, had no place in the solemn farce enacted by the American Federation of Labor on December 13. As I have said, it was not presented until the Gompers conference had adopted a program, and then was referred off the floor without discussion. Mr. Gompers had not called his conference for purposes of constructive action, but rather for purposes of labor politics, in order to smother an ugly situation and maintain the prestige and control of the Federation machine. Here we have, in stark contrast, the two policies which are struggling within the American labor movement today. It is politics against principle, expediency against conviction, blindness against clear sight. On the one side are the old forces of the American Federation of Labor machine, dominated by a strong, adroit, and jealous politician, who retains his power by playing on the self-interest of his lieutenants, and who puts every issue to a political test; on the other side are fresh new forces, measurably uncorrupted, in close accord with the spirit of the rank and file, and acutely aware of the necessity for constructive and drastic economic change. The contest is fundamental. Only the lack of true information, and the abundance of false information, confuses the public and the rank and file of labor as to what is going on.

The results of the conference of December 13, however, have been significant. During the week following the conference, the "radical" farmers, led by Mr. Hampton of the Farmers' National Council and Mr. Chamberlain of the Triple Alliance of the State of Washington, appeared before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce to protest against the Cummins railroad bill; and Mr. Gompers went with them. Next day he allowed himself to be represented when the same farmers called at the White House, and his name stood next to that of George P. Hampton on the document left with Secretary Tumulty urging the President to retain control of the railroads for two years more. Mr. Gompers apparently had found himself on insecure ground, had seen that he could not continue the fiction of a farmer-labor alliance, and had decided to take a new tack.

The real result of the affair is that there is to be another conference of the radical farmer and independent labor groups in Chicago early in February. This conference will be called to consider the coöperative movement in all its details, to assemble powerful forces for the enterprise, and to launch a strong constructive effort in the economic field. It will be a free-for-all conference; anyone may come who wants to take action to reduce the cost of living. The four Railroad Brotherhoods and the Farmers' National Council will be there; the Nonpartisan League will be represented in good standing. The United Mine Workers, who have made great strides in coöperation, will probably bring forward their forces. Producers' groups like the Southern Fruit Growers' Association will be represented, together with the Coöperative League and the coöperative wholesales. Organizations like the Triple Alliance of farmers, trade unionists, and railwaymen in California and Washington will send delegates. Sidney Hillman will probably be present to represent the Amalgamated Garment Workers, James Maurer to represent the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and John Fitzpatrick and William Z. Foster to represent the striking steel workers. The American Federation of Labor, also, will probably send delegates. It takes no great foresight to discover either the importance or the significance of this development. The bread was set to rise in too little a dish; the housewife had no idea of the strength of the yeast; and now the dough is spilling over the edge.

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# Quoting Isaiah in Winnipeg

By A. VERNON THOMAS

TEN leaders of the Winnipeg general strike of last summer are now facing trial before the Manitoba courts.* At the time of the strike much publicity was given to it in the American press, in both news and editorial columns. But without a single exception, I believe, as far as the big dailies are concerned, every reference to the Winnipeg situation was unfavorable to the strikers. The impression sought to be conveyed in practically every case was that Winnipeg was menaced by mobs incited by alien agitators, whose aim was to overthrow the authorities and usurp the reins of government. Needless to say the term "Bolshevist" was freely applied to the Winnipeg strikers.

Of the ten men now on trial, charged with conspiracy, seditious utterance, and the like, not a single one is an alien. All of the ten are British born. Six of the men were born in England, two in Scotland, and two in Canada. Two of them are ex-Methodist ministers, one is a member of the Manitoba Legislature, and two are aldermen of the city of Winnipeg. Yet the newspapers of Winnipeg and the press of Canada generally combined to create the impression that the trouble in Winnipeg was the work of the alien agitator. The so-called Citizens' Committee, the organization created to fight the strikers, inserted page advertisements in the Winnipeg newspapers which were nothing less than an incitement against the foreign population. *The Toronto Mail and Empire's* comment, "No foreign rabble will be allowed to set aside the public authorities and defy the laws of this country," is a fair sample of the drive against the foreigners at the time of the Winnipeg general strike. Great suffering was entailed. The foreigners in Winnipeg were safe neither in their persons nor in their property. They lost their employment in a great number of cases and were discriminated against in other directions. The strike leaders may have said foolish things; but is it possible to imagine anything more cruel or more cowardly, or anything less patriotic, than this incitement against a defenseless people, without spokesmen, and strangers in a strange land?

Let us look at some of the men now on trial, against whom every degrading epithet has been hurled. One of them is J. S. Woodsworth, Canadian born, whose ancestors migrated from the United States to Canada at the time of the Revolution. For many years Woodsworth was a Methodist minister. However, he resigned from the Methodist Church in 1918 because he could not reconcile war with Christianity and because he steadfastly refused to preach hatred. As recently as January, 1917, Woodsworth, at Winnipeg, was the director of a Bureau of Social Research maintained jointly by the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. He is an author and writer. His book, "Strangers Within Our Gates—Coming Canadians," was used by the Methodist Church of Canada in some of its branch organizations.

Another of the strike leaders now on trial in Winnipeg is F. J. Dixon, a member of the Manitoba Legislature. Twice Mr. Dixon has been returned for one of the Winnipeg constituencies. At the last general election in the Province Mr. Dixon received the largest majority of any member in the Legislature. Mr. Dixon is perhaps the best-known single taxer in Canada, certainly in the Canadian West. The Rev. William Ivens, a well-known Methodist minister who lost his pulpit because of his pacifist views, is another indicted strike leader. Two others now on trial are A. Heaps and John Queen, both aldermen of the City of Winnipeg. At this year's municipal elections in Winnipeg, held on November 28, last, Mr. Queen was reëlected, receiving 1,968 votes against 812 votes polled for his opponent. Mr. Heaps's term had not expired.

As illustrative of the procedure of the Canadian authorities against the accused, I should like to reproduce for your readers one of the counts in the indictment against Mr. Woodsworth. It is No. 4, and reads as follows:

> That J. S. Woodsworth in or about the month of June in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen at the City of Winnipeg in the Province of Manitoba unlawfully and seditiously published libels in the words and figures following:
>
> "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievances which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless."—Isaiah.
>
> "And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands."—Isaiah.

This is the whole of the count. In another count, No. 6, appear several extracts from "The Aims of Labor" by Arthur Henderson, M. P., who, many people believe, will be the next Prime Minister of Britain.

Incredible as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that the lawyers pressing the case for the Canadian Government were all active on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, the organization which used every means, fair or foul, to fight the general strike of last summer.

To crush the strike the authorities instituted a veritable reign of terror. Mr. Ivens and others of the ten men indicted were seized last summer in their homes in the middle of the night and spirited away to a penitentiary several miles outside Winnipeg. One of them was arrested without a warrant. Upon committal by the police magistrate eight of the ten men were placed in jail, although the refusal of bail in such a case was without a parallel in Canadian judicial history. After the men had been for several weeks in jail bail was allowed. *The Strike Bulletin*, the improvised organ of the strikers, was suppressed, but *The Citizen*, the improvised organ of their opponents, although openly advocating violence, was undisturbed. The Crown lawyers have changed their original intention of trying the men together. If they had done so, the men would have been entitled to four peremptory objections to jurymen for each indicted man. By trying them separately the defense is limited to a total of four peremptory objections.

Totally inadequate and entirely misleading accounts of the recent municipal elections in Winnipeg have appeared in the American press. In these elections the deplorable economic strife of last summer was carried into the political field. The Citizens' Committee was again active. Candidates of the Committee were placed in the field for mayor, for aldermanic and school-board seats. Pressure was brought to bear upon all candidates likely to split the "Citizen" vote to withdraw from the contest. Labor, on its side, contested

*Since the above was in type the news has come that R. B. Russell, the first of the strikers to be tried, has been convicted.

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every seat. All three daily newspapers were frenziedly behind the "Citizen" ticket. Page advertisements were inserted in these newspapers by the Committee, calling upon the electors to vote for the "Citizen" ticket, denouncing them, and threatening them with pains and penalties should they fail to do so. Every conceivable means was taken to defeat the Labor ticket. And on top of this there was a more or less restricted franchise, confined to property-holders or tenants. Plural voting was legal.

For mayor 28,144 votes were cast. Of these Mayor Gray, the "Citizen" candidate, received 15,630, and the Labor candidate 12,514. Of the seven wards into which the city is divided the Labor mayoralty candidate carried four. The Labor people claim that the Mayor's majority was made up largely, if not entirely, of outside property votes. Of the seven aldermen to be elected the Labor people returned three. The Winnipeg City Council consists of fourteen aldermen and the mayor, seven aldermen and the mayor retiring annually. As there were already four Labor members on the Council, Labor has now a fifty per cent. representation in the Winnipeg aldermanic body.

# Foreign Correspondence

## I. A Land of Shadows*

*Munich, October 6*

THE traveller who enters Germany from Switzerland by way of Constance, and proceeds via Ulm and Augsburg to Munich, traverses a region which, at first sight, shows few effects of war. The ill-kept villages through which one passes after crossing the Swiss frontier give way presently to neat and well-ordered towns, a good many of the houses apparently freshly painted and with a profusion of window-boxes bright with flowers. The fields are highly cultivated; forage, vegetable, and fruit crops have apparently been good, and the forests are as finely cared for as ever. One notices soon, however, the scarcity of horses, cattle, and hogs, and the working of cows under harness in the fields or on the roads. As working cows do not give milk, one understands why, after the pressure for food had taken off most of the oxen, steers, and young cattle, the milk supply failed also and infants and young children went unnourished. Nowhere, in either town or country, is there coal for winter or a prospect of any; the country districts, however, have wood, and there is some peat. One gathers the impression that while there will be extreme suffering this winter in every town and city in Baden and Bavaria from lack of fuel, the country people may at least keep warm. Throughout both of these States, on the route which my automobile journey took me, the railways appeared to be in poor condition, trains were few, and railway sidings were as a rule destitute of cars empty or laden.

Nowhere in the towns was the impression of economic stagnation so great as at Munich. Munich is a stricken city. Its main streets are still well-swept and the tramcars are running, but the population seems to keep within doors. Only for a brief time at morning, noon, and night could there be seen anything properly to be called a crowd anywhere in the business section. The shops, even the best, are as a whole a pitiful exhibit. Luxury articles, such as rugs, pictures, furniture, and jewelry, are displayed in modest quantity and variety, and one may buy a cravat or a walking-stick *à la mode;* but for the rest there are to be found only small stocks, chiefly remainders or war substitutes, poor in quality and as a rule dear even in depreciated German marks. The average person whom one passed in the street seemed noticeably ill-dressed, especially the women—an ill-dressing obviously due to poverty either of purse or of materials. The dearth of housing has filled to overflowing every hotel and habitable lodging place, producing day by day all the evils due to extreme overcrowding. Yet there are fashionably gowned women and tailor-made men on the streets and about the hotels; expensive automobiles are occasionally to be seen; substantial and varied meals are to be had by those who are able to pay the exorbitant prices demanded; the cafés are crowded in the late afternoon; theatres and cinemas play to full houses; and the prostitute and the gambler still ply their trades.

What on the whole is obvious, in this mélange of gaiety and sadness, of wealth and dire poverty, of which Munich is only the most conspicuous example, is the prevalence of profiteering and the lack of political stability. The exorbitant prices in marks which prevail everywhere—and one has always to remember that German incomes are in depreciated marks, not in foreign money of several times greater value—are not wholly due to a scarcity of necessary articles, nor is the scarcity itself due solely to the demands of war. The world disease of profiteering is rampant everywhere, among the great and the intelligent as well as among the small and the ignorant. Food is hoarded in the towns, and the farmers will not bring their produce to market. The weekly allowance of meat is fixed at say 200 grammes per person, and the prices of meat, sugar, and other necessaries are strictly regulated—by law; but the local official whose duty it is to enforce the food regulations winks at their violation or actually shares in the spoils; the hotel-keeper with a wealthy clientèle pays three times the market price and charges his guests the double of that; and the trader or manufacturer whose pockets the war has enriched pays the price while the rest of the community goes hungry. For a state of things which permeates all classes of society in southern Germany, and which is surely and rapidly sapping the already badly disturbed foundations of economic life, there is, apparently, no remedy save in the entire abolition of private interest in the production and distribution of necessaries and the complete assumption of the business by the state; and from such assumption, in the present disorganization of politics and morals, it cannot be said that assured relief may be anticipated. That the present grievous lack of food, coal, and necessaries of life in general a year after the armistice is very largely attributable to the continuance of the Allied blockade, with the well-nigh insuperable obstacle to economic recovery resulting therefrom, is obvious enough to any observer who wishes to know the truth; yet it must also be pointed out that so long as great States like Baden and Bavaria do not exert themselves to insure just prices and fair distribution of such things as they have, and allow the profiteering which is everywhere in evidence to continue, their complaints are not likely to be regarded as sincere.

The other great impediment to social rehabilitation is political instability. In Baden and Bavaria the situation is anomalous. In Baden the Centre, or Catholic, party is very

*The first of a series of letters describing conditions in Central Europe.

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strong and is growing. In Bavaria the Independent Socialists, their ranks recruited by many former Communists, are now probably the most numerous party. The real political division, however, without regard to party names, is between the imperialists, into whose hands the Peace Conference, by disappointing all the hopes of democrats and liberals, has played directly and with amazing stupidity; and the Bolshevists, including under this designation the dwindling remnants of the Communists or Spartacists, who frankly seek the destruction of the existing social order, and for whose growth in numbers and vindictive energy, here as elsewhere in Central Europe, the Peace Conference is again largely responsible. The real Government of Munich, however, is the army. Bands of soldiers are to be seen at all hours marching about the streets, singing, or are whisked from point to point in camions, while the bystanders gape and wonder. Twenty-three wagons, each carrying a heavy wooden framework strung with barbed wire, were lined up about the block next to my hotel, ready for use against popular outbreaks; and the city guard, mainly composed of non-Bavarian soldiers and taking its orders only from Berlin, is changed every two weeks. No wonder that the Weimar Constitution, the merits of which as a document appear to be recognized by leaders of opposing parties, should nevertheless have failed to arouse any enthusiasm or to appeal to popular sentiment; or that the outlook for southern Germany, if the day comes when the army will no longer obey orders from Berlin but will take things into its own hands, should seem dark.

There are, to be sure, some hopeful signs. Men like Prince Max of Baden, too reasonable to be strongly partisan and too generous to hate, are keeping in touch with one another and with liberal thinkers elsewhere in Germany. A Heidelberg association, formed under the leadership of Prince Max, Frau Richter, and others, is essaying the ambitious task of finding, through discussion and conference, a new moral basis for a new world of peace, order, and friendliness. The newspapers publish numerous articles in which the economic, political, and moral state of Germany and its future relations with the world are seriously discussed; and there is a weighty contemporary literature of pamphlets and books. The charm of music and the drama has not lost its hold upon the people: the classical plays, including Shakespeare, still hold the stage, and I witnessed at Munich a superb performance of "Parsifal." In the generous intimacy of more than one domestic circle, in the good talk of a group of kindred spirits at the café, one learns, or may learn if he will, that culture still survives despite the war.

Yet the general temper is gloomy and pessimistic. The ordinary conditions of daily living, in food and clothing and fuel and wages, are hard, and the outlook for winter is alarming. To the thousands who can find no work, and to the thousands more who cannot by any possibility live on what they earn, are to be added other thousands who do not want to work and whose morale is being weakened by the unemployment allowances paid by government. There is an ominous increase of crime, particularly of robbery and accompanying assault, and a yet more fateful jealousy of such persons as have, or appear to have, enough to eat or wear. The growing recognition of the evil method and tendency of the former Imperial Government, and of the extent to which it misled and wronged the German people, has not yet progressed far enough to have accomplished a complete breach with the past; and the sheer fatigue of war still holds in restraint the constructive revolutionary spirit. The feeling is widespread that France and Great Britain, particularly the former, wish the complete destruction of Germany as a state and are deliberately planning to achieve it; and that the United States, while believed to be opposed, save in the person of Mr. Wilson, to such a policy, will not in fact exert itself to prevent its accomplishment. Naturally, under such circumstances, the vicious persistency of a section of the French press, ably seconded by some leading British papers, in denouncing everything German, seems to make the task of intellectual *rapprochement* almost hopeless. The pervading orderliness of well-tilled fields and well-kept towns, the respect for historical monuments and for education, show how the habits of the old régime still persist; but the spirit of the people dwells in shadow, facing the future with no sure hope.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

## II. Nationalizing the Mines in Britain

*London, December 11*

ON the night of December 9 British labor, in its threefold aspect of political, industrial, and coöperative organization, flung its full force into the opening of a great campaign for the permanent nationalization of the coal mines. For two months the campaign is to be prosecuted throughout the country by mass meetings, by parliamentary pressure, and by the labor press. Until February 20 this drive for public support will be a paramount aim and duty of British labor. At that time, unless the principle of nationalization for the mines advocated by the recent royal commission has been adopted by the Government, action of a more definite nature will be taken by the whole labor movement and the miners will, if we may believe Robert Smillie's prediction, "use industrial power to obtain justice and the fulfilment of the Government's pledge."

The mass meeting in London which opened this campaign was, in its significance for America at least, the outstanding feature of the two-day emergency Trades Union Congress. Other matters of considerable importance were acted upon, notably the passage against stiff opposition of a resolution ordering the creation of a General Council, to be elected annually by the Labor Party Parliamentary Committee. This council will be nominally responsible for harmonious coöperation between the various branches of the labor movement. Beyond that, it is intended as a coördinating body with wide powers of control over the strike policies of the individual unions. It will, in addition, probably have special committees charged with the development of working-class education and economic research, with handling the broad outline of English participation in an international labor press service—a movement now much discussed in labor circles here—with general publicity work regarding British labor's aims, and with the establishment of a bureau of legal advice. Strong resolutions were adopted condemning the Government's failure to establish a rational unemployment policy and demanding the lifting of the blockade of Soviet Russia, as well as the establishment of peaceful relations with that nation and the dispatch of a special labor mission really to investigate Bolshevism. Finally, a comprehensive resolution was adopted urging that the rising

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cost of living be checked by state and municipal control over the necessities of life, and by distribution through coöperative societies. Incidentally, the congress showed that it understood the grip on England's food supply already achieved by the five great American packing concerns, and the necessity of government action to control that and similar encroachments.

Transcending the importance of any of these measures, however, in the minds of a majority of the 750 delegates, who represented more than five million organized workers, was the action on the resolution providing for government ownership of the coal mines and operation by joint committees of the managerial and classified employees of the industry. In its total elimination of capitalist control, its projected purchase by an exchange of low-interest government bonds for present securities, and in other respects the program is virtually a parallel of the Plumb plan. There are attendant contrasts, however. Public opinion in England has long passed the stage in which such projects are characterized as "the entering wedge of Bolshevism"; and with seventy members of the House of Commons and several million voters already pledged to support of the project, the chances of putting the doctrine of industrial democracy into practice in a great industry along constitutional lines are much greater here than in America. The essential object of the publicity campaign launched on the night of December 9 in connection with the Trades Union Congress is to prepare and educate the nation for the peaceful advent of large-scale and permanent socialization. There is no attempt to hide the conviction that if the mines are taken over by the state and run by the workers the same procedure will shortly be followed in every other basic industry. Indeed there was a most convincing note in the words with which Frank Hodges, a member of the royal commission which handled the coal investigation, closed this inaugural mass meeting. "The drama which you have opened tonight," he said, "will witness in its last act the death of the whole capitalist system in Great Britain." The three thousand "phlegmatic" British men and women present raised pandemonium in expressing their approval.

It would nevertheless be false to give the impression that English labor has an easy task in this fundamental fight, or that English capitalism, although less strident and well fortified than its American brother, is likely to succumb to the principles of industrial democracy without a last-ditch struggle. Several speakers—Robert Smillie, Frank Hodges, Tom Mann, and Jack Jones, the last-named a member of Parliament—indicated the belief that nothing but direct action would finally influence the Government. Smillie justified such policy amid a storm of applause that rocked the hall. Describing the working conditions of the million British coal miners, the thousands of their children who die in infancy, the great percentage of their wives who succumb to the unequal struggle against poverty and disease before the age of thirty, the frequent and horrible pit disasters due to inadequate safeguards, Smillie said: "If any action on the part of the miners alone would put an end to that it would be the duty of the miners to take it." It is a sentiment held by many of the leaders who are helping shape the policy of British labor.

Anxious to get my own impression of Smillie's personality, I planted myself directly at his feet while he spoke in behalf of nationalization. The man is the bugbear of the English tories, imperialists, and bourgeois conservatives, and the idol of hundreds of thousands of radical workers. On one point only about him do they agree, that he is the Lenin of England. I saw him as a slight, loosely knit workingman, close to sixty years of age, with a worn, thoughtful face unmistakably Scotch in type, with shaggy hair and mustache sandy in color but plentifully shot with gray, and with striking deep-set eyes. These last are easily the predominant feature of his face, intense, piercing, and of a cold blue; yet at the slightest excuse they lighten with a merry twinkle, and when he tells of the conditions of the miners, "my people" as he calls them, they fill with tears. Smillie speaks with a strong Scotch accent and is a magnificent natural orator—magnetic, convincing, eloquent, and absolutely sincere, with plenty of evidences of hard labor, but not a trace of the soap-box about him. When he rose to second the resolution for the socialization of the coal mines, introduced at the mass meeting by Arthur Henderson, it was several minutes before the tumult of appreciation permitted "owd Bob" a word.

In their "mines for the nation" campaign the British labor leaders have in hand a weapon of great logical value, and they intend to use it for its full worth. This is the refusal of the present coalition Government to put into practice the majority recommendations of its own royal commission, appointed to investigate the coal industry and report on the fundamental improvements and alterations essential to national prosperity. The majority report of this commission, the appointment of which alone staved off an imminent general strike several months ago, came out flat-footed for nationalization. On various pretexts of detail, but in reality because it fears to recognize the clear-cut principle involved, the Government has pigeonholed the Sankey report. To make the people of England realize that what labor wants is what the unprejudiced experts recommend, and that what these experts advised after full investigation the Government in spite of promises refuses to carry out, is the object of the present campaign. To quote another Labor member, Mr. William Brace, "We are saying to the Government, 'Either live up to your word or take the responsibility yourselves. The trade unions will not.'" It will be late February before the campaign of British labor for socialization of the mines will be ended, and the Trades Union Congress will again convene to decide whether or not direct action on a far greater scale than in the recent railway strike shall be used against an unpopular and unreliable Government.

Be one's views what they may on the economic soundness of the argument that private capital should be divorced from such basic industries as mining, there can be no denying that in this vitally important campaign British labor is working with a social vision incomparably beyond that of its opponents. It is a "mines for the nation" and not a "mines for the miners" campaign, and economists like Sir Leo Chiozza Money assert just as firmly as does Robert Smillie that socialization will be a benefit not only to the industry, but to the nation as a whole. The sincerity of the miners themselves is best shown by their prompt rejection of a virtual invitation from the Government that they should make an alliance with the colliery owners whereby both sides would profit and only the consuming public suffer. Labor in England is now out for something far more fundamental than increased wages and shorter hours.

FELIX MORLEY

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# The Apples

By RIDGELY TORRENCE

*—The world is wasted with fire and sword*
*But the apples of gold hang over the sea.—*

When the wounded seaman heard the ocean daughters
With their dreamy call
Lull the stormy demon of the waters,
He remembered all.

He remembered knowing of an island charted,
"Past a flying fire,"
Where a fruit was growing, winey-hearted,
Called "the mind's desire."

Near him broke the stealing rollers into jewels
Round a tree, and there
Sorrow's end and healing, peace, renewals
Ripened in the air.

So he knew he'd found it and he watched the glory
Burning on the tree
With the dancers round it—like the story—
In the swinging sea.

Lovely round the honey-colored fruit, the motion
Made a leafy stir.
Songs were in that sunny tree of ocean
Where the apples were.

First the ocean sung them, then the daughters after,
Dancing to the word.
Beauty danced among them with low laughter
And the harp was heard.

In that sea's immeasurable music sounded
Songs of peace, and still
From the bough the treasure hung down rounded
To the seaman's will.

Redder than the jewel-seeded beach and sharper
Were the wounds he bore,
Hearing, past the cruel dark, a harper
Lulling on the shore.

Long he watched the wonders, ringed with lovely perils,
Watched the apples gleam
In the sleepy thunders on the beryls,
Then he breathed his dream:

"Bloody lands and flaming seas and cloudy slaughter,
Hateful fogs unfurled,
Steely horror, shaming sky and water,
These have wreathed the world.

"Give me fruit for freighting, till my anchor grapples
Home beyond the vast.
Earth shall end her hating through the apples
And be healed at last."

Then the sea-girls, lifting up their lovely voices
With the secret word,
Sang it through the drifting ocean noises
And the sailor heard;

*Ocean-old* the answers reached his failing sinew,
Touched, unveiled his eyes:

"Beach and bough and dancers are within you,
There the island lies.

"Though the heavens harden, though the thunders hover,
Though our song be mute,
Burning in our garden for the lover
Still unfolds the fruit."

Outward from that shore the happy sailor, turning,
Passed the fleets of sleep,
Passed his pain and bore the secret, burning,
Homeward to the deep.

# In the Driftway

THE following letter recently floated into the office of *The Nation*—cast up by the tides of Vesey Street, borne by the breezes that sift in at the windows, or even prosaically left by the postman at the door:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Who is this Drifter, pray? Where has he not been at least once? He speaks of kings and other things in a most familiar manner. He draws the flotsam and jetsam from the waters of the Seven Seas. He serves this salvage with sauces and spice, disguised so that Neptune himself would not recognize it as the water-soaked riffraff that once ebbed and flowed. Has he watched the mothers of India practice race control by tickling the palate of the Ganges crocodiles? Has he watched the elephant babies playing push ball in the interior of Africa?

If the high priests of Tibet seize some tall occidental profaner of their temples, the Drifter seems sure to wander by just in the nick of time to observe those priests trying to solve the problem of stretching a six-foot victim on a five-foot-eight rack. If there is a man in the odds or ends of the earth who divorces Roman Catholicism for Buddhism and in turn jilts Great Bud for the goddess Vacuum of the Atheist, the Drifter is sure to have been one of those present and to have stored up future tabloids of every phase of this religious metamorphosis.

This ubiquitous, omnipresent Wanderlustiger, with a card-catalogue cerebellum, loose-leaf cerebrum, and graphical-chart medulla oblongata, a piece of charcoal in one hand and styptic pencil in the other, now sketches, now etches, a column in your *Nation*. No matter what happens of current interest he brings forth out of the dim past some curious fact or fiction and translates one into terms of the other.

Now hereby, in company with many other lovers of *The Nation*, I ask that this rolling stone that gathers moss shall remove its head from the bushel basket of anonymity, that he who reads may run. If he be composite, then let Poly-somus remove his various head from the sands and cease to camouflage himself under the nom de plumage of an ostrich.

*New York, November 14* CHARLES I. CORWIN

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THE Drifter, as A. Bronson Alcott might have said, is one and indivisible and yet various and multipartite. E. Pluribus Unum is his name in Latin, though sometimes he answers to the more liquid syllables of Multum N. Parvo. "Infinite riches in a little room" he long ago chose for his English motto. True, he has many mottoes and many names. He has walked the world in search of singularities; he has run down legends to their lair; he has known men and women in a dozen languages and climates; he reads books as boys eat apples. In anatomy an octopus, with tentacles each twenty-five thousand miles long, in spirit he is as amiable as simple. His formula is worlds easier than Einstein's: The Drifter dives into every wave, but he always comes up smiling. THE DRIFTER

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# Literature

## Justice and the Poor

*Justice and the Poor.* By Reginald Heber Smith. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

"THE law in its magnificent equality forbids rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges or steal a loaf of bread." The irony of Anatole France touches the structure of society, and raises a problem beyond the power of lawyers alone to solve. We have long been semi-conscious, however, of other disguised inequalities in the operation of law which are not a necessary consequence of unequally distributed wealth and could be removed if only any one cared enough about them to give his energetic attention to the matter. Judge Edward A. Parry of the English County Courts has drawn from his own experience a sweeping indictment of such inequalities in several books, "The Law and the Poor," "What the Judge Saw," and "Judgments in Vacation." Dean Roscoe Pound in an article, The Administration of Justice in the Modern City, published in the *Harvard Law Review* for February, 1913, has shown the need of new legal methods to grapple with new urban conditions. And now a comprehensive survey of "the existing denial of justice to the poor" in the United States and of the possible remedies has been published under the conservative auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The author, Reginald Heber Smith, was for several years the active head of the Boston Legal Aid Society and has in preparation for this book visited every legal aid society in the country and many of the small claims courts and other informal tribunals. The result of his observation and wide reading is a thorough and thoughtful statement of the situation and certain convincing conclusions about the necessary measures for relief which challenge the bar and the legislatures to immediate action.

The cause of the unfairness of the law to the poor does not lie, as so many of the poor unfortunately believe, in corrupt judges. Nor is there any considerable injustice in the substantive law, which determines a man's rights. The fellow-servant rule did, it is true, work disaster to many employees, but that has been replaced in most States by the workmen's compensation acts. The poor man has the same rights before the law as the rich, but he is unable to set in motion the legal machinery which would enforce his rights. The evils are almost entirely in legal procedure and organization. In an age in which mechanical devices have been incessantly improved we have been content to administer justice with methods which survive from the days of sailing ships and carters.

The book finds three main defects in our present system which too often prevent the poor man from obtaining his legal rights. First, delay. A judgment for wages after years or even months is useless, for the suit was for the means of life itself. Second, court costs, which frequently are so high as to bar a workingman from court altogether. The existing scale of costs is as irrational a vestige of antiquity as spurs on an officer stepping into his automobile. The amounts bear no relation to the actual expense of judicial administration. A cook in the Hotel Touraine suing for wages can appeal to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for three dollars, but if his brother on the steamer La Touraine wishes to take a similar appeal in a Federal admiralty action for wages, he must pay thirty-five dollars. Delays can be remedied by reforms for which the bar has been vigorously working, and costs can be rationalized or removed entirely for the poor man by a revival of his old privilege of suit *in forma pauperis*, but the third obstacle to his access to the courts, the expense of a lawyer, presents much greater difficulties.

In simple cases it may be possible to dispense with legal advice, but usually the poor man must have a lawyer to present his case adequately, and the lawyer cannot take many such cases without payment. The charitable work of the bar cannot possibly meet the need for legal assistance under existing conditions in our large cities. The conclusion of this book is that the poor should not be forced to go without justice because they cannot afford to pay a lawyer any more than their children should go without education because they cannot pay a schoolmaster. That the public should furnish lawyers, when necessary, gratis and "put justice upon the free list with religion, education, and health" may sound like socialism, but Elihu Root is among the prophets.

"New projects," his foreword to this book runs, "are continually suggested for improving the condition of the poor by the aid of government, and as to many of them there is a debatable question whether they come within the proper province of government, and whether official interference will not in the long run do more harm than good to the beneficiaries and to the community. No one, however, doubts that it is the proper function of government to secure justice. In a broad sense that is the chief thing for which government is organized. Nor can any one question that the highest obligation of government is to secure justice for those who, because they are poor and weak and friendless, find it hard to maintain their own rights."

It is characteristic of the best in our national life that Mr. Smith should not spend many pages in laborious analysis of the defects in our law, but should hasten on to the concrete remedies. Judge Parry's writings are pervaded with a gloomy confidence that nothing will be done for generations, but one lays down the American book with a strong belief in the efficacy of effort. Nine remedies are discussed, of which five may be selected for comment. The most dramatically successful is the small claims court, now existing in Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, Portland (Oregon), and three Kansas cities. To use the complex machinery of the ordinary court for such cases is like starting up a steam-hammer to crack an egg. The reviewer has seen numerous dubious small claims against workingmen paid after attachment of wages, with the addition of four dollars costs for entry fee and the services of a sheriff in serving the writ, because a contest would mean that the man must lose several hours of work to appear in court and must pay a lawyer to file the necessary papers. The judge of a small claims court can sit at night or Saturday afternoons, and summon persons by telephone or letter. In truth, registered mail ought nowadays to be the normal method of service of process in all courts, for it is as efficient as a deputy sheriff and sometimes more honest in its record.

No lawyer is necessary in the small claims court. The clerk helps the parties file papers, and the judge hears the evidence informally. For instance, when a landlady sued a boarder for twenty-five dollars because he had set fire to a mattress while smoking in bed, the judge ascertained by telephoning a department store that an identical mattress could be had for eight dollars, which the boarder was willing to pay, and judgment was entered accordingly. Furthermore, the judge can order payment by instalments, and can get the consent of creditors to an informal bankruptcy.

Small cases demand rapid and cheap settlement rather than exact conformity to rigid legal rules. Petty litigation is not to be despised or discouraged if based on genuine claims. It affects more people than any other kind, and if we discourage it by making it expensive, we simply encourage wrongdoing. Consequently, small claims courts ought to multiply. It is important, however, that the judge should be a member of the regular court organization, so as to avoid wire-drawn disputes about judicial powers and jurisdiction between these courts and other courts.

Domestic relations courts aim to gather all questions relating to one family in one place. The regular system sends divorces to the equity court, children to the juvenile court, actions for desertion and non-support to the criminal court, guardianship to the probate court, and violations of the compulsory education law perhaps to some other tribunal. In Cleveland family cases

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may come before any one of eighteen judges. A domestic relations court can decide them all, with the help of a probation staff of trained social workers, and can enforce its orders by civil or criminal methods as seems best. The probation officer supplants the attorney in most cases, conciliation is substituted for the bitterness of litigation, and the final result takes into consideration the whole history of the family as a social unit. Such courts exist in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, although divorce jurisdiction has as yet been denied. Constitutional obstacles must be surmounted, as in Detroit, but such courts are likely to increase in number.

Administrative tribunals now deal with many legal disputes, often without the aid of counsel. Formerly an injured workman could get redress only by offering a large contingent fee to a lawyer to present his case in courts. Now in many States he goes in person before an Industrial Accident Commission. A similar plan for injured passengers on steam and electric railways has been indorsed by the Massachusetts Bar Association, but was defeated in the legislature partly because it was called an "anti-lawyer" bill. The Interstate Commerce Commission settles many disputes for small shippers by correspondence and official investigation. And entire jurisdiction over allotments for soldiers and their dependents, compensation for injuries on duty, and insurance, involving claims of many millions of dollars, is vested in what has already become the world's greatest administrative tribunal—the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

The public defender has received much popular attention of late. It is sometimes considered absurd for society to employ one man to convict a prisoner and another to acquit him, but in reality such a scheme simply aims to have both sides of the case fairly presented to the jury in the belief that truth is thus best discovered. Every one knows that few lawyers of the best type care to defend criminal cases and that as a result many lawyers for the defense are either incompetent or dishonest. The assignment of counsel paid by the State is not satisfactory except in murder trials. Consequently, Mr. Smith concludes that counsel should be furnished to an accused man without means, either by the State or by a legal aid bureau. The public defender is simply legal aid in criminal cases, and there is no inherent reason why this should not be combined with aid in civil cases.

Legal aid organizations, to which the last half of this study is devoted, furnish counsel to poor persons when no other assistance is available. They take the place of the other remedies where they do not exist, and fill the gap which the others must inevitably leave. Mr. Smith's discussion is extremely thorough, and proves so conclusively the value of legal aid work that his argument should win for such work the financial support for lack of which it has suffered, and should lead to the establishment of some form of legal aid bureau in every large city in the United States. Since 1890, when Arthur von Briesen induced the "German Legal Aid Society" of New York to extend its aid to all races and act gratuitously if necessary, the idea has spread until there are now forty such bureaus with over one hundred thousand clients a year. Nine are operated by municipalities. The public bureaus attract many more clients than the private ones and have worked well on the whole, though in two cases they have been regarded as the spoils of office on a change of administration. Mr. Smith thinks that legal aid work is related to the courts rather than to the city government, which is the least satisfactory portion of our political system, and that therefore a public bureau should be under judicial control and removed from partisan politics. Of the private bureaus, those run by charitable organizations are handicapped by the fact that the men in charge are primarily interested in non-legal work. Also, legal aid clients are reluctant to go to a charities building. An independent legal aid society to which the charity societies refer all law cases works much better.

Much is accomplished by legal aid bureaus without litigation. When litigation is necessary, the legal aid bureau has a great advantage over the ordinary lawyer who takes a poor man's case out of charity and finds himself confronted with some intricate question about loan sharks or eviction, entirely foreign to his daily work, which requires great labor to master. The bureau, after going through a hundred such cases, has all the material at hand. Furthermore, the legal aid society can conduct a series of suits or prosecutions to put an end to usurious loans or illegal assignments of wages.

Other great public services are made possible by the bureau's accumulation of specialized information. During the war the provisions of the War Risk Insurance Act and the Civil Relief Act were very generally unknown. The Boston society published a small booklet of "Legal Suggestions for Soldiers and Sailors and Their Dependents" which had a circulation of one hundred and fifty thousand. Mr. Smith omits to state that he was its author. A single lawyer may witness one or two cases of oppression which demand legislative reform, but he has no data to present to the legislature. The legal aid bureau possesses the facts, represents the poor, and has the ability and time to draft the necessary statute. Much important legislation has been secured in this way. Until we have in every State government a minister of justice whose main task will be to find and end defects in the law, the legal aid bureau will be the most efficient means of bringing justice to the poor.

The greatest service rendered by such societies and the other remedial agencies is the promotion of good citizenship. If those who have been defrauded out of all their money can obtain no redress because they have no money, it is indeed a hard task to make them enthusiastic about laws which are a luxury for the rich. Every layman has an instinctive dislike for the cumbrous machinery of our ordinary courts, but the small claims court settles disputes in a manner that the most ignorant can understand. The legal aid societies by securing justice prove the integrity and fairness of our institutions. One of the best ways to Americanize our immigrants will be to Americanize the administration of justice until there is a real equality. This demands generous giving, wise administration, energetic action, without delay.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

## The Predecessors of Turner

*Early English Water-Color Drawings.* Edited by Geoffrey Holme. The Studio.

THOSE admirers of Turner's water-colors who remember with delight the 1909 Special Number of *The Studio*, "The Water-Colours of J. M. W. Turner," with its splendid color reproductions, will be exceedingly grateful for the appearance of the 1919 Special Number entitled "Early English Water-Colour Drawings by the Great Masters," edited by Mr. Geoffrey Holme. This volume makes a fine supplement to the first; and it may be said without exaggeration that no serious student of Turner can afford to be without either. Although the second number gives most space to the work of Turner, it includes many interesting drawings by the master's predecessors. The black-and-white reproductions are done with unusual care, while those in color—and there is a generous selection of them—are real achievements in color printing. The letter-press by Mr. A. J. Finberg is intelligent and illuminating, especially in its account of the Turners as they are successively commented upon in the light of the artist's development. Of Turner's predecessors there are included drawings by Paul Sandby, Edward Dayes, Thomas Girtin, J. S. Cotman, John Varley, Samuel Prout, William Turner, G. Robson, Copley Fielding, David Roberts, T. Collier, and J. R. Cozens. The most interesting and original of these is Cozens. Four of his drawings are shown, the two in color being fine examples of his sensitive and austere genius. They employ a rather bleak color scheme, not unattractive after a thoughtful examination; they are without conscious artifice; and they have about them a haunting spiritual note not to be found in the work of most of the contemporary draughtsmen. Generally speaking, Turner's predecessors are painters of pleas-

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ant pictures, and even if they are topographical they are seldom empty.

Turner himself was closely connected with them in his beginnings. One remarks his affiliations immediately in the first two plates in the book, both characteristic of his topographical and antiquarian draughtsmanship during the so-called Evesham and Malmesbury Abbey period. They are merely well-executed tinted drawings with very accurate and delicate treatment of architectural detail. The plates which follow these, The Mountain Stream and The Water Mill, done five or six years later, mark a decided abandonment of the early "finished" method for one suggesting a finer appreciation of the large generalities of things. One does not have to be an artist to see Turner's advance in technical breadth. Plate 5, The Cassiobury, done about 1800, is interesting as an example of one of the numerous drawings and paintings of the estates of noblemen which were merely faithful literal representations executed by Turner to please his patrons. The remaining plates in the book, arranged chronologically, lead one step by step to Turner's highest altitudes as a painter. We leave far behind the immature Turner, placidly passive to external impressions and recording the chance combinations of Nature, and stand in the presence of Turner the creative artist transposing the visible world into enchanting visions which convince us more surely than Whistler's words ever can that "Nature is usually wrong." It is to be regretted that the only one of the Rhine drawings to be included in the volume is not reproduced in color as an example of Turner's fine use of opaque on a gray ground. One cannot easily forget the beautiful drawing in color from the Rhine series in the 1909 *Studio*. And yet one can be pacified by looking upon the color reproductions of the wistful Blue Rigi and the elemental Longships Lighthouse, to which Ruskin wrote so splendid a tribute. These alone will earn for Mr. Holme's new collection the gratitude of Turner lovers.

## The Ways of the Short Story

*Dust of New York.* By Konrad Bercovici. Boni and Liveright.
*The Red Mark and Other Stories.* By John Russell. Alfred A. Knopf.
*Tales of a Cruel Country.* By Gerald Cumberland. Brentano's.
*Peace in Friendship Village.* By Zona Gale. The Macmillan Company.

MORE than any other kind the short story demands of the artist integrity both of vision and of workmanship. Since its briefness requires unity of effect and since the majority of its readers desire to feel that unity of effect in the form of an immediate and tingling impression, the writer is tempted to resort to every artifice and to lose all reverence for his material in his search for the required moment of sharp excitement. The numerous text-books on the writing of short stories all spend their energies on teaching the aspirant not how to reveal life, but how to achieve "punch." "Punch" is that ingeniously labored sting of impression which causes magazine editors to "take notice" and their readers to "sit up." In some such way the philosophy of short-story writing for the popular magazines may be formulated. And this theory and the resultant practice have become quite rigid conventions in that world in which the writer of tales must earn his bread. The best stories of the late Harris Merton Lyon, which were later gathered in that extraordinary and neglected volume "Sardonics," found no favor with the editors; one only of the four volumes under review, and that the least important, bears evidence of earlier publication in well-known magazines.

Mr. Konrad Bercovici's stories show him an accomplished practitioner of the accepted technique. But his "punch" is not cheery enough for a bland popularity. His material is exotic, his tone often sombre, his endings do not sufficiently conceal his sense of life's irony. And the readers of magazines will have none of that. His scenes and his people might have been used and were used by O. Henry. But the latter was adroit enough never to leave his story without a flash of the fantastic or the sentimental nor to show foreigners without a blithe or condescending implication of native superiority. In a word, Mr. Bercovici's stories have not the right "morale" for popularity. It would be difficult to explain in any other way how several of them could have been resisted by the editors of very generous magazines. For they are really not deeper in insight than severe in execution. There is something very intentional in Mr. Bercovici's exploitation of the foreign quarters of New York. His manner is a little knowing and self-conscious. In his stories, even if not in life, he is a tourist and a sightseer who has sat around in odd, foreign restaurants and has known enough of half a dozen languages to catch the drift of the talk around him. There is no deeper convincingness. Even the Jewish stories stop at superficial aspects. In the others one catches him in actual linguistic slips and suspects the authenticity of all that he presents with such an air of eager and sufficient knowledge.

Mr. John Russell has gone to the ends of the earth for what he wanted. And that was, to use his own words, "the glamour of things, a magic flush on dull and sordid fact." He has borrowed some of Kipling's affectation of omniscience and sought after some of Joseph Conrad's density of medium. But he has qualities of his own—sweep and energy of execution, hot, sharp colors that recall the blood and gold and sombre burnish of Webster and Tourneur and the Renaissance Italians. And he has what is rarer in stories of this kind: the throb and exultation of human passion. It is rather a pity that he has chosen to open his volume with The Red Mark, a tale of dreary cruelty and absurd plotting. Mr. Russell is at his best in the Far East, and there again in such a story as The Passion Vine, where his action springs from passion, and the passion, though under a far and alien sky, is that of all mankind. No doubt his tales of another kind have a force and even a brilliancy of their own. The Wicks of Macassar is not dimmed by the memory of Kipling's lighthouse in the Malayan seas; The Slanted Beam adds a new thrill of horror to the Buddhist temple; East of Eastward and Amok are striking variations of the theme of "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." Fundamentally, of course, this whole kind of writing is factitious to the core. In that special and traditionally romantic sense the East is not mysterious at all and no land is alien from any other. Customs vary and the attitudes of men to their own instincts. But those instincts themselves are the same under every sky. The "shades of the prison house" have fallen on us all and man has no powers in Singapore or Bangkok that he has not in London or New York. And hence such stories, despite their strength and glitter and accomplishment, leave a final impression of hollowness and futility.

A book of an entirely different calibre is Mr. Gerald Cumberland's "Tales of a Cruel Country." His mind is no less sensitive than Mr. Russell's, but it is by its very nature far more scrupulous. His stories of contemporary Greece and especially of the city of Salonica are wise and sober and ironical and human. They have rich colors, too, but only the colors that are found in nature. If violent things are admitted, it is only because real catastrophes—such as the burning of Salonica in 1917—made them inevitable. As a rule Mr. Cumberland is content with the simpler but more stirring adventures in which the characters of his people and the conflicts of these characters with one another involve them. His emotional range is wide, and passes from the sensuous charm and subtle lightness of the several stories that concern Katya Kontorompa to the dim misery of The Baths Murder, the tragic piteousness of The Victim, and the historic irony of How It Grew. He touches the world of the creative imagination in The Storm, of purely pagan beauty and melancholy—the beauty of passion, the sadness of age as we read of them in the Greek Anthology—in The Two Lovers, that of the soul's realities in The Dreamer.

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His stories are brief and spare. Their tone is quiet and sober; their workmanship unobtrusive in its skill. By avoiding curious complications for their own sake and over-emphatic endings Mr. Cumberland achieves solidity, convincingness, a constant impression of power held in reserve. He has not roamed up and down the earth, but cultivated a limited field. Even within this field he has concentrated his attention on certain Greek types and on certain international groups in Salonica. He seems superficially to know far less about life than Mr. Russell. He really knows a great deal more. He has not collected exotic facts in order to display them in striking yarns; he has interpreted the material that life brought him and produced a volume of short stories of very uncommon distinction and power and promise.

Reading Miss Zona Gale's "Peace in Friendship Village" we may seem to be coming home from the Greece of Mr. Cumberland. But it all depends on one's ideas of home. The home of the spirit and of the imagination is with truth. Salonica may be nearer home than Portage, Wisconsin, and Katya Kontorompa a nearer neighbor than Calliope Marsh. These stories that first appeared in *Good Housekeeping*, *The Woman's Home Companion*, *The Pictorial Review*, and *The Delineator* are depressingly mawkish in both substance and manner. No one who recalls the accomplished verse and serious fiction with which Miss Gale made her appearance in literature can fail to regret her apparently complete submersion in the relentlessly "glad" school of magazine fiction. Even when, as in The Story of Jeffro, Miss Gale has an idea that does credit to her humanity and insight, its facts of character and action are so thickly coated with gleaming pink that all force and pertinence are lost. When a writer of Miss Gale's original gifts can succumb so wholly to the absurd doctrine that an habitual smiling contortion of the features can make over a troublesome and tragic world and that rosy blinkers can shut out all the evil under the sun—and even, the glad ones seem to think, destroy evil—it is rather sad evidence of the corrupting effect of that doctrine on our life and art.

# Books in Brief

"AMERICANIZATION as conceived by the conservative alarmist as a cure against independent thinking and against mass demands for industrial and social justice is an anachronism that will perish by its own violence." This is the concluding sentence and the nub of a pamphlet on "Americanization" by Carol Aronovici (St. Paul: Keller Publishing Co.). The author, as he tells us in his page of preface, has devoted "twenty years of conscientious effort to understand the social and political life of the country of his adoption and to fashion his mode of life in harmony with those traditional standards of American life that distinguish it from the peoples of Europe." The essay bears witness that the twenty years have been intelligently spent, and in its tolerant devotion to reason and its conscientious effort to understand, it might well serve as a lesson to the furious-mouthed among the (presumably) native-born Americanizers. At any rate, all interested in the problem may read Mr. Aronovici's essay with profit, not so much from the novelty of its contents as from the sanity of its temper; and none should turn from it without being impressed by the obvious fact that the Americanism of the future is to be a matter of take as well as of give.

A NEW book by William J. Long excites anticipation, even though it bears so doubtful a title as "How Animals Talk" (Harpers). The "human side" of animals, so appealing to the publisher, is to the reader perhaps the least interesting side. After all, must the four-footed tread the too-familiar way of the biped? Happily trail and *trottoir* still run wide apart. When Mr. Long wrote fresh from the wilderness there was an early morning zest about his animal stories; but written by the leisurely fireside these observations are dulled to questioning reminiscence. He ponders the silent communication of his furred and feathered friends; he illustrates their natural telepathy by anecdote; he dwells on the mysterious supersense for which he adopts the African term "chumfo." But while he suggests and wonders to the extent of a handsome volume, the whole may perhaps be summed up in a parenthetical sentence of his own: "There is a deal of babble in this explanation, I admit, and still a mystery at the end of it."

# Drama

## A Chronicle Play

IT is the dramaturgic school of Scribe and Sarcey which has persuaded both the wise and the foolish that a play must be tight as a glove and orderly as a machine. But all art belongs to the biological and spiritual order and its forms are infinite in number and plasticity. There are good plays and bad ones, but none that are not plays because they fail to conform to a convention or a pattern, even as there are comely faces and ugly faces, but none that are not faces because they do not coincide with some anterior conception of beauty. Hence all technical objection to Mr. John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln" (The Cort Theatre) may be set aside at once. It "plays." Therefore it is a play. It is a chronicle play, a "history"; it seeks to recreate the rhythm of life by methods as old as "The Life and Death of King John" and as new as Hauptmann's "Elga" and "A Ballad of Winter." Most modern plays have returned, for the sake of verisimilitude, to the pseudo-Aristotelian unities of time and place. But most modern plays deal with single culminations in the fates of men, and these are, by their very nature, brief and strictly localized. Mr. Drinkwater has chosen to show six culminating moments in Lincoln's life, and since each of the six scenes has its own unity of effect, its own dramatic life and progression, and since each moves toward a point at which historic and artistic culmination are identical, the stodgiest technician has but an illusory reason for his quarrel.

The strictures of the historian, who can justly charge that the Lincoln of the play is little more than the Lincoln of popular myth, are not to be dismissed so easily. But they apply to the play only as a written document. In the acted drama the intention of the author is luminously clear. Each scene of Mr. Drinkwater's play is not only a crucial episode in the life of Lincoln, but it is also a vision of the struggle of a great people, through which the tragic character of all mass conflict is symbolized for the living world. The intention of the interpretative third scene—the keystone of this whole structure—should have escaped no one even without the very just explanatory note which Mr. Drinkwater has added to the bill of the play. He has tried, as he truly points out, to lend "heightened significance to a certain strain in Lincoln's character and to certain movements and tendencies in the human mind that he led and directed." What is that strain and what are those tendencies? Both may be summed up in a brief phrase: Mercy *is* justice. The Abraham Lincoln of the play is an uncouth, kindly, humorous man of the people, careless of all things save his spiritual vision, tolerant in all things that do not seek to break the essential rectitude of his mind. He knows nothing of personal enmity, nothing of tribal hatred. He rebukes the fierce shallowness that would humiliate the enemy or crush him. He *is* stricken with horror at the thought of war becoming a "blood-feud." His ideal is to keep the vision inviolate without war. If war does come, its aim shall be to defend the vision, not to destroy the foe. He is firm when others are only stubborn, steadfast when they are belligerent, magnanimous when they are vengeful. And this symbolical portrait of him has not only, as a whole, the "imaginative lucidity" which Mr. Drinkwater claims for it, but also a high moral value for a world stricken by the same diseases that men were suffering from in Lincoln's day.

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The chief faults in Mr. Drinkwater's execution can be easily and briefly marked. An Englishman, writing a play of American folk-history, he was highly conscious of the daring and difficulty of his task. Some of this arduous self-consciousness has been communicated to his characters. In hours of moral conflict and decisive action the heat and glow of life dim the future wholly. But Lincoln is, especially in the earlier scenes, too aware of his historic mission and character and of the judgment of posterity. He seems at moments to be subtly acting up to Mr. Drinkwater's retrospective interpretation of him. The symbolical intention thus tends, quite often, not to irradiate the density of life, but to disperse it. Against the resultant thinness of effect Mr. Drinkwater has sought to guard by the addition of folk-characters. But the invention of these has not been happy. The Farmer and the Storekeeper are not people, but devices of exposition; Mrs. Lincoln is not a woman, but two contradictory qualities; the maid in the Lincoln household is amusingly British. The two council-chamber scenes and the scene at Appomattox are the purest in quality of effect because they are freest of the effort to supply imaginatively what only first-hand experience can make authentic. A little history is a dangerous thing; pure poetry is truer.

The production of this play stands or falls, of course, with the ability of the actor who takes the central part. It would have been impossible to receive the impressions here recorded, had Mr. Frank McGlynn been less than adequate. And his task was a staggering one. It is difficult enough to interpret the protagonist of the ordinary biographical play under the severe and jealous eye of the historian and the specialist. But every American is, in a sense, a specialist on Lincoln. He is not only a folk-hero, but one with whom men still living walked and spoke, and who is bound to the entire present generation by an immediate and a verbal tradition. Through a single obviously false note in his performance Mr. McGlynn could have become, with fatal ease, absurd and offensive. But his performance, however incorrect historically in this detail or that, has a final rightness and harmony of effect. It may not convince the conscience of the scholar and the eye-witness. It cannot offend the heart and mind of the most fastidious beholder. Mr. McGlynn has a simple, a humble dignity; he has gleams of quiet humor and moments of stern enough determination. But his determination avoids the shadow of truculence; his humor glints but on the edge of sadness; his kindliness never sinks to the over-soft. He has the correct height and narrowness of person. He is ungainly without being ignoble, loose-limbed but knitted from within. If there is a touch of the merely sentimental in his posture at the end of the first scene, it is because the dramatist has asked the impossible. A lank, bearded man in a frock-coat, kneeling in prayer beside the "parlor" lamp, recalls the conventicle and the evangelist, not the follower of Jesus and the friend of man. In the fifth scene, on the other hand, Mr. McGlynn reaches the highest point of his performance through silence. Lincoln spends the night propped up on chairs in Grant's headquarters at Appomattox. To that weary figure, grotesquely garbed, resting uneasily from so much sorrowful endurance, Mr. McGlynn has succeeded in giving sadness, loneliness, a grave beauty of the spirit, a homely magnanimity, a visionary touch of the tragic end to come. This is Lincoln as the heart of man conceives him.

We have here neither a great play nor a great performance. Both seek and gain—omitting all faults and inadequacies of execution—such adventitious aids to interest and impressiveness as the highest and most enduring art avoids. The historical hero is too much enmeshed in the particular which is transitory and not sufficiently enmeshed in those concrete things which are not transitory because they have a touch of the universal fate of man. In the realm of art Hamlet and Faust are greater and truer than Napoleon or Lincoln. But to our stage of today "Abraham Lincoln" is bread and wine amid a glut of painted sweets and brackish water.

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# Art

## The Academy and Commonplace

IF the new Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers needed justification, the Academy gives it in its winter exhibition. Not that the exhibition presents any unfamiliar features. Everybody of intelligence who visits it must wish that it did. The Academy, apparently, is unchangeable, and the hope for those Academicians who rebel against its restrictions is, as it has long been, in a succession of secessions and new societies. The one thing the Academy demands is commonplace, and with commonplace, therefore, the present exhibition is full.

The interest of the exhibition is less in the work on the walls than in the revelation of Academic standards and tendencies. The interruptions of the prevailing commonplace are few. One comes with Walter MacEwen's portrait of himself in his blue shirt sleeves and with brush in hand—a good direct piece of painting by a painter who is well-trained, who knows his medium. It is not perhaps a very great, but it is certainly an accomplished portrait, and it shows more knowledge and skill than any of the others. There is character in the pose; the head is simply and admirably modelled. Altogether, the wonder is that Mr. MacEwen has so rarely chosen men as his models or sitters. Gifford Beal's Palmy Days is rich and brilliant in color, and has a certain dash in the treatment. But why was it necessary to return to the days of crinoline and primitive steamboats? Subjects as suggestive are in the life about him, and these he could see with his own eyes, not through the records of the past. Besides, to return to the crinoline and the fashions that went with it is to recall the men of the time who painted and drew them. Before Mr. Beal's canvas seems to flit the memory of Manet's group in the Garden of the Tuileries, and even of Frith's Derby Day; Manet and Frith were painting what they knew. Apart from their other merits, these pictures have the truth of something seen, while Mr. Beal's is but an ingenious reconstruction. Childe Hassam's New York Winter Window has beautiful passages, in the painting of the fruit on the table, in the white-roofed houses, vague and mysterious beyond the veiled window. But the one figure is hard and wooden, and yet so prominent as to overshadow the more delicate details. Snow and Indians retain their popularity as motives and, at times, are painted with much dexterity, though the painters have nothing new to say, no fresh aspect to present. The man who succeeds is never without followers, and here and there is a canvas that recalls a Frieseke, though Mr. Frieseke himself is absent and, moreover, has repeated his one note in his own work until it now seems weak and strained. How thin a note struck too often may grow, appears from Richard Miller's Chinese Statuette. The statuette of the title, the fan in the woman's hands, the draperies over her arm, are rendered with Mr. Miller's usual grace, but the woman, also treated as a bit of still-life, was the bit evidently that interested him the least.

The most dispiriting feature is that the Academy's failure year after year should be taken as a matter of course. The Academy is the Academy, we are told, as if that were a sufficient reason. But why should it be the Academy as we know—and dismiss—it, and not a great power and influence in the country? The question is surely worth asking. Here is an institution made up of artists, managed by artists, run for artists, an institution with tradition and money behind it, an institution to which the most distinguished artists in America belong, an institution with schools and a faculty to which occasionally, as recently, an important member is added. And yet little, if anything, comes out of it. Distinguished Academicians are of small use to it, for they send either nothing or else their least distinguished work. The engravers and architects among them have not as yet had even the chance to send anything. The sculptors find space only for their least ambitious achievements. The Academy is without influence, without the position that should be its right. The public flocks to it in crowds on Varnishing Day, it is true, but the few who know and understand are indifferent. Surely something must be very wrong with the Academy, and surely, too, some remedy could be found if it were sought or desired. At least, it should be more helpful to the Academy to remind it of its failure than to try to say amiable things about it.

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# International Relations Section

## Contents

THE VOICE OF EGYPT. By George B. Noble ..... 861
DOCUMENTS: Mr. Wilson and the Egyptian Delegation—How America Recognized the Protectorate..... 862

## The Voice of Egypt

By GEORGE B. NOBLE

THE people of the United States are at last in a position to hear from a direct representative of Egypt the story of that country and its struggle for recognition. The story is as simple as it is pathetic, and is told very plainly by Mahmoud Pasha, who has lately reached our shores from France. For months, Mr. Mahmoud has been endeavoring to come to visit us, but we were too fearful of wounding the susceptibilities of our British cousins. For instance, some months ago, one of our higher diplomatic agents in Paris, on being approached on the subject of a passport for Mr. Mahmoud to the United States, said: "I'll see if the British want him to go." Of course, the British were not eager to have the Egyptian question aired in this country; accordingly, they informed our solicitous diplomat that they would not look with approval on the suggestion.

On the outbreak of the war, Egypt, formerly technically a part of the Turkish Empire, though in fact occupied and ruled by the British, joined forces with the Allies, forsaking its nominal suzerain, and threw its weight into the scales on the side of liberty, trusting that the liquidation of territorial questions would bring the realization of its cherished hopes. Britain, abandoning its former policy of "respecting the sovereign rights of Egypt," declared a protectorate over the Nile country, with the promise that it would terminate with the end of the war.

That Egypt contributed loyally and generously to the victorious conclusion of the war is beyond question. General Allenby himself assured the Egyptians soon after the armistice that they had played a vital part in the war and deserved great credit for their efforts. Accordingly, on the conclusion of the armistice, the one ambition of the Egyptians was to get to London and Paris and make arrangements for the realization of their hopes.

It soon became evident, however, that the British did not interpret the word "temporary" to mean what the Egyptian people had been led to believe. Therefore, a delegation was chosen to submit Egypt's claims to the British Cabinet and to the Peace Conference. The manner of selecting the delegation was as follows: first, the Legislative Assembly, elected before the war by the Egyptian people (though, indeed, it had been deprived of its function during the war), gave a definite mandate to those persons who were to compose the delegation. The mandate read somewhat as follows: "I (member of the Legislative Assembly), delegate —— Pasha to claim the independence of Egypt, wherever it is possible, by all legal means." The example set by the Legislative Assembly was soon followed by the Provincial Councils, the municipalities, and by the notables of the country, so that the chosen members were overwhelmed with mandates from all parts of the country. So popular was this move, in fact, that the British forbade the circulation of any such petitions, on the grounds that they were "contrary to public order."

On November 13, three members of the delegation called on Sir Reginald Wingate, British High Commissioner, and after congratulating him on the victory of liberty and justice, said that Egypt, which had played such a large part in the consummation of that victory, looked to England for justice and the realization of its independence. They asked for passports to London. Sir Reginald said he would refer the matter to the Government. Application for passports was also made to the military authorities, who said they would consider the matter. Time passed, and another written request was made, to which Sir Reginald replied in effect that if the delegation wished to make any suggestions as to the government of Egypt under the protectorate, he would be glad to receive it in writing. The delegation replied that this was impossible, since they did not recognize the protectorate.

It happened that about the same time Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister, requested a conference with the British Government in London on the future constitution of the government of Egypt. This was practically refused, and on December 3 Rushdi Pasha resigned. As no other Ministry could be formed, Rushdi was urged to withdraw his resignation, but he refused to do so unless he and the chosen delegation were allowed to depart for Europe. Finally, his resignation was accepted on March 2. Meantime, the delegation was engaged in protesting against its virtual imprisonment in Cairo. Telegrams were sent to Mr. Wilson in Paris and London. Mr. Lloyd George, the British Parliament, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando were also the recipients of supplications from Egypt's representatives. It is rather notorious that all of the diplomatic agents of the Allies received the delegation very kindly, except the American representative, who refused to see them.

Since no Ministry could be formed, the British authorities threw all blame on the Egyptian delegation, and on Thursday, March 6, the members of the delegation were summoned to British army headquarters and addressed by General Watson. He told them that they had been guilty of hindering the formation of a new Government, and had kept the protectorate under constant discussion. He added that if this continued, they would be subjected to severe punishment under martial law, and concluded by saying, "That is all; there will be no discussion."

On March 8, at about 5:30 p. m., English officers, with some armed men, went to the home of Zagloul Pasha, which was the headquarters of the delegation, and arrested Zagloul, Mahmoud, and two other leaders. They were detained that night in a British barracks. The next morning they were taken to a train as secretly as possible. The carriage at the station was surrounded by officers, mostly majors and colonels, no one being allowed to speak with the arrested leaders. They did not learn till later that there was a tremendous demonstration taking place in the city. They were sent to Malta, where they were detained until the British Government found it expedient to release them and allow them to proceed to Paris with the remainder of the delegation. During their exile, Egypt was the scene of wild disorder. No sooner had the British authorities isolated them than the population rose in peaceful demonstration. These demonstrations were met with British machine guns. The story of the rising of the people—

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entirely peaceful at first, since all arms had been taken from them—and its suppression is a gruesome page in British history. The Egyptian White Book, with authenticated recitals of repression and brutalities, would rival the bloodiest page in a story of German atrocities during the war.

When the delegation was released, the Rushdi Cabinet came back, but was short-lived, as the people insisted on the Cabinet's declaring that it did not recognize the British protectorate, and that the delegation should be regarded as official. The British High Commissioner refusing to concede this, the Cabinet resigned. It was not until the end of May that a new Cabinet was formed under Mohammed Said, who declared from the outset that his Ministry was only an administrative one, with the object merely of ameliorating the military dictatorship. Failing even in this, the Ministry resigned on November 15.

Suffice it to say that three days after the delegation's arrival in Paris, news was given the press that Mr. Wilson had recognized the British protectorate over Egypt. Thus they were precluded from even getting a hearing before the council of international justice. Not only the Council of Five, but even Mr. Wilson, refused to turn an ear to their plea that the rights of thirteen millions of people ought not to be passed over without a hearing.

If it is wrong to hand over thirty-eight million Chinese to economic domination by Japan, is it not also wrong to turn over thirteen million Egyptians to the economic and political domination of another empire? Let us hear the case of Egypt. Let us also recall that the peace treaty includes the recognition of the British protectorate.

# Documents

## Mr. Wilson and the Egyptian Delegation

THE Egyptian delegation to the Peace Conference made repeated attempts to bring before President Wilson their country's claim to independence. In answer to their letters and telegrams, they received only two short notes from the President's confidential secretary, the first acknowledging receipt of one of their letters, the second regretting that the President had been unable to give them an appointment. We reprint this correspondence from the official White Book, issued at Paris by the delegation.

*1. Telegram, dated Cairo, December 14, 1918, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson at Paris.*

In leaving your country to bring yourself the good word to the Old World and to incarnate the inflexible will of free America in the work of deciding the affairs of nations upon the basis of justice and right, you have caused yourself to be awarded a new title to the gratitude, already so great, of humanity.

No people more than the Egyptian people has felt strongly the joyous emotion of the birth of a new era which, thanks to your virile action, is soon going to impose itself upon the universe, and to spread everywhere all the benefits of a peace whose calm and durability will no longer be troubled by the ambitions of hypocrisy or the old-fashioned policy of hegemony and furthering selfish national interests.

No people more than the Egyptian people appreciates the admirable disinterestedness with which your country entered into the war—disinterestedness that now enables it to demand that the same justice rule in deciding the affairs of the feeble and of the powerful, of the small as of the great.

It is in this thought that Egypt desires, at the moment when you are setting foot in Europe to plead the high and noble cause of humanity, to bring to you the respectful expression of her wishes that you be successful in your work for right and justice.

The Egyptian delegation, mostly composed of deputies to the Legislative Assembly and which has received, by special mandate of the population, the mission to go to Europe to expose and defend national aspirations, regards it as a duty to give you in person, if the opportunity is allowed, the respectful and admiring greetings of this country.

Unfortunately, the authorities have refused passports to the members of the delegation, and this measure which deprives us of presenting to world-wide public opinion our griefs and our wishes, leaves the cause of Egypt at the mercy of insufficient and inexact documentation, and does not permit the realization of the insistent desire of your Excellency, shared by the Allies, of seeing the destinies of peoples directed in accordance with their own desires.

We have been invited, it is true, on the part of the British authorities, to formulate, if we desire to, written suggestions on the government of the country, but on condition that they do not discard the protectorate already established. This is asking of us the impossible, for Egypt has never admitted this protectorate imposed as a war measure and which, while suppressing with a single stroke our ideal of independence, violates rights we long ago conquered from Turkey; and that this war, far from limiting, must on the contrary, in conformity with the new principles of the respective nationalities, broaden up to entire sovereignty.

We regret such an attitude on the part of the Government of a country in the liberalism of which we have entire faith, and we shall be excused if, in taking a position squarely against this attitude, we wish to consider the interests of our national existence alone.

For these reasons, and in the name of Egypt—this country of advanced culture and very ancient civilization, this country of strong homogeneous race, imbued with the ideas of progress and enlightenment—we protest strongly against all the limitations that might be brought to her rights and her independence.

Egypt begs your Excellency to give her the opportunity of having her voice heard in defense of her lawful aspirations.

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly*
*President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

*2. Telegram, dated Cairo, December 27, 1918, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson at London.*

On the day of your arrival in England, the Egyptian delegation, in the name of all the population of this country, appeals to your Excellency to use his influence with the British Government in order that the representatives of Egypt, prevented without possible reason from leaving the country, be authorized to go to Europe to be able to communicate to the competent authorities their ideal and their national aspirations.

In insisting upon their departure in order to submit to your Excellency, to British public opinion, and to those who are going to sit at the table of the Peace Conference, the views of their compatriots on the subject of the political destinies of Egypt, the members of the delegation are demanding only a natural and sacred right.

Egypt is trying to win her independence—the national right of nations—and she respectfully appeals to your Excellency to help her in attaining this noble end.

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly*
*and President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

*3. Telegram, dated Cairo, January 3, 1919, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson at Paris.*

In two previous telegrams we have informed your Excellency of the refusal of the British authorities to permit the departure of the delegation that has been entrusted with the responsibility

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of defending the interests and presenting the demands of Egypt in Europe.

In spite of the importance and multiplicity of your duties, we are persuaded that you have not been able to disenterest yourself in a question in which your aid, to assure the respect due to liberty, appears to be particularly necessary.

As we do not cease to be met with a refusal to allow our departure from our own country, the Egyptian delegation renews to your Excellency its urgent prayer to help us to be in a position to expose the aspirations of Egypt.

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

*4. Telegram, dated Cairo, January 13, 1919, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson at Paris.*

At a meeting held today, attended by several members of the Legislative Assembly and other elected bodies as well as by numerous representative citizens of this country, it was decided unanimously to telegraph you the following address on the occasion of the opening of the Peace Conference:

To the great and venerated President who led the people of the United States in their disinterested participation in the European conflict to save humanity and to preserve the world in the future from the horrors of war, we send our affectionate greetings.

To the eminent philosopher and statesman who occupies today a preponderant place among the leaders of peoples, and whose high ideals are imposing themselves upon statesmen and all nations, we offer our homage and our admiration.

To the chief of the great American democracy, who left his country in order to bring about a durable peace based upon equal justice for all and guaranteed by the Society of Nations, we submit the cause of Egypt, which is subjected to a foreign domination that Egypt unanimously rejects.

Long live the United States! Long live President Wilson!

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

*5. Letter, dated Paris, April 24, 1919, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson.*

I have the honor to submit that the entry of the United States into the world war in 1917, and her wonderful and inspired leadership during the past two years, have given the Egyptian people confidence that their claims to independence, guaranteed by the new Society of Nations, would receive a hearing from the Peace Conference and the support of all who are longing for a durable world peace.

From the beginning of the war, the Egyptian nation has never faltered in its loyalty to the Entente Alliance, and especially to Great Britain. To avoid the raising of embarrassing questions, the Egyptian leaders decided to work whole-heartedly for the winning of the war, and postpone discussion of the future of Egypt until the Peace Conference.

A delegation has been sent to Paris by the Egyptians to present their case. We represent all elements of the Egyptian population, Mohammedan and Christian alike.

I quite understand that your Excellency is overburdened with demands for audiences. But the importance of our cause justifies the request that one of my colleagues and I be received by you on the day and at the hour when you are able to grant us a hearing.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient and humble servant.

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*President of the Egyptian Delegation, and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.*

*6. Letter, dated Paris, April 24, 1919, addressed to the President of the delegation by President Wilson's confidential secretary.*

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22, and to say that it will be brought to the President's attention.

Sincerely yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
*Confidential Secretary to the President.*

*7. Letter, dated Paris, April 29, 1919, addressed to President Wilson by the delegation.*

The note of which your Excellency will find a copy enclosed, was addressed to the Peace Conference with a view to justify the demand that the Egyptian delegation be given a hearing by that high assembly.

Upon your respect for the rights of men we base our hope that the demand will be granted. Our faith in the impartial justice upon which you proposed to make the peace of the world is so great that even your recent intervention in connection with the British protectorate has not shaken it. Whatever may have been the reason that led the United States to recognize the protectorate, we believe that we should now make known the real opinion and aspirations of our country.

The privilege which we ask was not refused to the enemies of the cause of liberty. Can it be denied to those who have contributed to the triumph of liberty?

We make a special appeal to your Excellency because the people of all Egypt have placed their supreme hope in you. In no country was your stirring call for justice heard with such response as in Egypt. We are hungering and thirsting for liberty and in your principles we see the pledge of our deliverance.

We were the first to rejoice over the coming of an era when "all people and all nationalities would have a right to live on a footing of equality, in liberty and security one with the other, whether they be strong or whether they be weak."

We have counted on your promise that in the general settlement the people would have satisfaction. That is why our young men rallied to the cry, "Long live Wilson!"

Only yesterday your solicitude spoke eloquently on behalf of a small nation, refusing to allow her conquerors to rule without the control of the League of Nations. You would not admit that a people who until now had formed a part of the Ottoman Empire should pass from one sovereignty to another like a piece of merchandise. You insisted that their aspiration be respected. Can this solicitude stop at the threshold of our unfortunate country?

Egypt is the cradle of civilization. The people of Egypt have faith in the high mission you assumed when you said that justice and not interest must dominate.

I am, Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

SAAD ZAGLOUL
*For the Egyptian Delegation.*

*8. Letter, dated Paris, June 6, 1919, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson.*

I had the honor to request on April 22 last an audience, in which, as the representatives of an historic and civilized country, I had hoped to submit to your Excellency the real state of affairs in Egypt, as well as the national aspirations of my fellow countrymen. The reply I received from your private secretary on the 24th ult. was to the effect that my request would be submitted to your Excellency in due course. Since then I have heard nothing more.

My request for an audience was based upon the fact that the hopes of the Egyptian people rested in you as the author of these noble principles, and as the honored President of the great American democracy, which entered the war for no selfish purpose, but merely to serve the cause of liberty and justice.

Again the material and scientific resources of the United States, together with the great moral efforts of the Republic, were utilized—as your Excellency emphatically declared—not in self-defense nor for the love of conquest nor, may I be permitted to add, for the consecration of foreign dominations over

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unwilling countries, but for the establishment of a system of international justice before which must bow both the stronger and the weaker nations.

These principles—which were declared in the name of the American people as the basis of a democratic and a durable peace—have become so deep-rooted in the hearts of the whole Egyptian people that they revolted, unarmed, for the application of these principles to their country. Their absolute faith in the fourteen points, in the speech of September 27 last, and in other declarations, was unshakable. And the bullets of the British army in Egypt were powerless to shake their firm belief in your ability—and in the ability of the American people—to realize the principles for which they had fought and won. In the deportation of my colleagues and myself, the Egyptian people saw an attempt on the part of the British authorities to deprive the country of the benefit of your consideration.

Their will prevailed. We were released. And our first duty on arriving at Paris was to request your Excellency for an audience. This honor was denied to us. And a few days later, the recognition by the Government of the United States of America of the British protectorate over Egypt was published throughout the world.

According to information received, the news in Egypt fell on deaf ears. The Egyptians could not imagine that the principles which promised to the world a new era of political freedom and political equality would consecrate the servitude of a whole nation.

The decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Egypt resulted in a policy of systematic revenge by the British military authorities throughout the country. Towns and villages have been submitted to most awful exactions. Some villages have been completely burned, and thousands of families are without shelter. People who do not salute British officers are court-martialled. The judge of Kena Province refused to attend court to avoid submitting to such humiliation.

The *koorbash* is being most freely used. Notables are being maltreated and imprisoned. Women were violated, and in one case a husband (who was present) was shot dead by the troops while attempting to defend the honor of his wife.

And all this because the Egyptian people have dared to demand their political emancipation!

That they will persist in demanding their political freedom goes without saying. They will do so in the firm belief in the righteousness of their cause and in their whole-hearted adherence to the principles enunciated by your Excellency. They will either succeed through America's help or perish victims to their loyalty and good faith.

For these reasons, I beg to request that one of my colleagues and I be received by your Excellency so that we may explain to you the state of affairs in Egypt.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient and humble servant,

SAAD ZAGLOUL

*President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

*9. Letter, dated Paris, June 9, 1919, addressed to the President of the delegation by President Wilson's confidential secretary.*

I am writing you on behalf of the President to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th and to express regret that the President's time has been so completely taken up that he has not had an opportunity to make an appointment to see you.

Sincerely yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,

*Confidential Secretary to the President.*

*10. Letter, dated Paris, June 18, 1919, addressed by the delegation to President Wilson.*

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your confidential secretary's letter of the 9th inst. in which he says that you have not had the time to give an audience to one of my colleagues and myself. We note with satisfaction that you do not exclude the hope of an interview in the future.

We feel sure that you realize, Mr. President, the position in which you have been placed on account of the rôle of international leadership which you have assumed.

We wish to impress upon you that it would be the despair of the Egyptian people if their delegation failed to get even a hearing before the exponent of international right and justice.

We do not believe that you wish Egypt to be condemned unheard. And we do not feel that you can form a judgment on the Egyptian situation without giving a hearing to the Egyptians themselves.

We believe you purposely left open the possibility of an audience with us in the future, and we respectfully request that this be granted us as soon as possible in order that history may reflect honor on you in this affair, as in all others connected with the Conference.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

SAAD ZAGLOUL

*President of the Egyptian Delegation.*

## How the United States Recognized the Protectorate

THE circumstances surrounding the recognition by President Wilson of the British protectorate in Egypt are set forth in the following extract from the testimony of Mr. William C. Bullitt before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on September 12.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bullitt, we had before us at one of our hearings a representative of the Egyptian people. Do you know anything about that, when it was done, or any discussions about it? I mean the clauses that appear in regard to the British protectorate.

MR. BULLITT. You mean our agreement to recognize the British protectorate in Egypt?

THE CHAIRMAN. It was recognized by this treaty in those clauses.

MR. BULLITT. Yes; but we gave a sort of assent before the treaty formally came out, did we not? I recall the morning it was done. It was handled by Sir William Wiseman, who was the confidential representative that Lloyd George and Balfour had constantly with Colonel House and the President. He was a sort of extra confidential foreign office. It was all done, if I recall his statement correctly, in the course of one morning. The President was informed that the Egyptian nationalists were using his fourteen points as meaning that the President thought that Egypt should have the right to control her own destinies, and therefore have independence, and that they were using this to foment revolution; that since the President had provoked this trouble by the fourteen points, they thought that he should allay it by the statement that we would recognize the British protectorate; and as I remember Sir William Wiseman's statement to me that morning, he said that he had only brought up the matter that morning, and that he had got our recognition of the British protectorate before luncheon.

THE CHAIRMAN. The President made some public statement?

MR. BULLITT. I am not certain in regard to the further developments of it. I recall that incident, that it was arranged through Sir William Wiseman, and that it took only a few minutes.

SENATOR KNOX. That was a good deal of time to devote to a little country like Egypt.

MR. BULLITT. I do not know. You should know, Sir, you have been Secretary of State.

SENATOR KNOX. We never chewed them up that fast.

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A cablegram from Saad Zagloul Pasha to President Wilson, dated at Paris on November 25, asserts that faith in the President's principles has betrayed the Egyptian people to Great Britain, and begs him not to desert them.

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# Books of the Week

MUSIC, ART, AND ACHÆOLOGY

Eberlein, Harold Donaldson, Abbot McClure, and Edward Stratton Holloway. The Practical Book of Interior Decoration. Lippincott.—Guilbert, Yvette (collector). Pastourelles of the XV Century. Ditson.—Hartmann, Arthur. Six Character Sketches for Violin and Piano. Ditson. 75 cents.—Lord Howe's Masquerade. Text by Frederick H. Martens. Music by N. Clifford Page. Ditson.—Pennell, Joseph. Etchers and Etching. Macmillan. $15.

FICTION

Cumberland, Gerald. Tales of a Cruel Country. Brentano's.—Gale, Zona. Peace in Friendship Village. Macmillan. $2.—Hill, Grace Livingston. The Search. Lippincott. $1.50.—Keable, Robert. The Drift of Pinions. Dutton. $2.—Patterson, J. E. The Passage of the Barque Sappho. Dutton. $2.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

Carroll, Robert S. Our Nervous Friends. Macmillan. $2.—Seeley, Boudinot. Christian Social Hygiene. Published by the Author. $1.25.—While, Evelyn C. (compiler). Easy Russian Reader. Dutton. $1.50.


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